

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

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RICHARD SEDDON: DEMOCRATIC STATESMAN AND MASTER-BUILDER OF A LIBERAL COMMONWEALTH.

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I. MORAL IDEALISM THE SOUL OF CIVILIZATION.

AS THE years pass and civilization rises to nobler altitudes, the world comes more and more to cherish, revere and honor the men who have yielded to the compulsion of moral idealism, daring to do great things for the happiness, development and elevation of others and the exaltation of society. Even now, in the perspective of history, we see paralleling the steady sinking to oblivion of the great egoists who once held a large place on the stage of life but who were dominated by selfish impulses, a corresponding rise of the idealists to the peerage of earth's immortals. Do you question this? Then sweep the vista of history, separating the men who lived for self, who placed ambition or avarice, the lust for power, the lust for glory, the lust of the flesh or the lust for gold above interest in and consideration for the rights of others, from those who were faithful to the higher vision, who yielded to the compulsion of truth, of duty, of justice and of right—men, in a word, who, reck-

less of self, consecrated life's richest gifts to noble ends, and you will see that only in proportion as men lived for others and were willing to sink self before the larger demands of humanity have they remained potent forces in the world and dwelt in the heart and the affection of the ages.

Athens was thronged with men of wealth, position and power when Socrates was forced to drink the hemlock; yet while Socrates' thought, life, death and the influence he wielded over the brains of Plato and other of his disciples have proved a perpetual wellspring of moral life and inspiration for twenty-five hundred years, his judges, the civic leaders and men of wealth, power and station of his age, have long since been forgotten, or if remembered they exert no influence on men or nations.

The high priest and the arrogant members of the Sanhedrim, before whom the influential men of Judea bowed with deepest reverence while drawing their mantles closer around them when Jesus and His motley band of fishermen and peasants passed, are forgotten, or only remembered by virtue of the evil part they

played in the tragedy that marked the martyrdom of the supreme representative of moral idealism of that age.

Nero represented egoism at its apogee; Epictetus, the Stoic-philosopher, moral idealism in ascendancy. Nero is only remembered to be loathed; Epictetus' life and teachings have for almost two thousand years been as a well in a desert waste, yielding spiritual refreshment to the travel-worn humanity of the hurrying generations.

And so through all the historic past we find this great law holds true. Egoism is a meteor light that flashes on the vision and goes out in darkness; while altruism or moral idealism is as a glowing sun that warms, lights and revivifies as the ages sweep into the eternity of the past.

In recent times the eye of the world has become more and more clear-seeing, until to-day the apostles of justice, freedom and moral greatness are frequently recognized for what they are, even by their own generation. Some years before the breaking out of the American Revolution a young Virginian penned a brilliant paper entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of America," in which he so clearly set forth the rights of man as to strike a foundation-shaking blow at the "divine right of kings" idea. It was a courageous thing to do. It made the author a marked man and at the same time stamped him a moral hero who for a people's rights placed his own life in hazard. His paper crossed the sea and was circulated in England, whereupon his name, it is said, was placed upon a list of proscribed drawn up by King George III. and his councillors. But in the rush of events the day soon arrived when the courageous Virginian was delegated to draw up a Declaration of Independence for the American Colonies, and later he was chosen to preside as chief over the infant Republic, after which he became, so long as life lasted, the master-spirit of a great party; and since he passed from the scenes of life's activities, his life, example and lofty ideals and teach-

ings have proved one of the most positive and compelling forces for justice, freedom and fraternity in the great Republic and a beacon of moral idealism to the oppressed of the whole world. The power, splendor and sway of the stubborn and arrogant king have long since passed away, but the influence of Thomas Jefferson was never more helpfully potent than to-day.

Recently another of the great apostles of high ideals has passed from the stage of life where he had exerted a civilization-wide influence as a way-shower of economic progress for the nations of the earth that have long wandered in the twilight of short-sighted opportunism when not dominated by a vicious selfishness that spelt injustice for the millions, —a man who became a master-builder in a commonwealth that has become a moral leader in the family of civilized peoples, such as was our own government more than a century ago. The life-story of this great man, like the record of every person dominated by the nobler ethical verities, cannot prove other than an upward-impelling inspiration to young men and women of character and conviction.

II. THE STANDARD-BEARER OF DEMOCRACY UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

Richard Seddon was one of the greatest, if, indeed, not the greatest constructive statesman of the last half of the nineteenth century. Not that he was the originator of all, or even of most, of the daring social and political innovations born of common-sense, enlightened reason and broad and intelligent humanitarianism, that have lifted New Zealand to a foremost place as a political and economic leader and a positive moral force among the nations of the world, but because, seeing the reasonableness and essential justice of the liberal programme and having faith in the eternal moral principles only equaled by his faith in a humanity under the reign of justice, he made each vital proposition his special

charge and with a determination that brooked no thought of possible failure, with rare intelligence and untiring perseverance, he proceeded step by step toward a practical realization of the rational and just revolutionary programme of progress that New Zealand's liberal statesmen, under Grey and Ballance, had inaugurated. A man of less faith, less force of character, less clarity of intellectual vision, and less of the superb courage that never yields a noble cause, would have failed. He succeeded in carrying to unqualified success a revolutionary programme of social and economic progress that proved the fallacy of age-long, learned and plausible theories built up to bulwark privilege and pelf, to shackle the millions that the few might enjoy the lion's share of the social wealth created by the people, and to make invincible, under the cloak of popular government, classes and castes that owed their existence to monopoly, privilege and special legislation.

Richard John Seddon was before all else a constructive statesman, a way-shower of civilization, and as such he deserves and will hold a high place in the hall of earth's immortals who have consecrated life to the elevation and happiness of the people.

III. THE YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD OF RICHARD SEDDON.

Mr. Seddon was born in an old ivy-covered cottage, built in 1684, just outside the limits of the little hamlet of St. Helens, in Lancashire, England, on June 22, 1845. His father was for a quarter of a century head-master of the Eccleston Grammar School. His mother before her marriage had been the head of a rival school, while the families of both his parents had for generations been chiefly engaged in agriculture.

Richard was a sturdy youth, plentifully endowed with physical strength and vitality and with a strong taste for outdoor life and for physical exercise. His

father strove to make him the model boy of the school, but the child rebelled, and the friction that ensued was not calculated to increase the boy's love for scholastic pursuits. Still, he received a good sound common-school education, and the story, so generally circulated, that he was illiterate, had no true foundation, though one thing tended to confirm its verity, and that was the proneness of Mr. Seddon when he entered the Parliament of New Zealand to mix up his H's in a manner appalling to his scholastic associates of the liberal party. This was, however, due to the fact that when he left school he found work on a farm; later he was apprenticed to learn the trade of an engineer and iron-founder; and still later, in the mining diggings of Australia and New Zealand, he was chiefly associated with people who continually mixed their H's after the manner of the unlettered Britisher, and naturally enough the boy, being away from the refined atmosphere of his home, dropped into the speech of his associates.

In only one study did young Seddon especially excel, and that was mechanical drawing. After leaving school he worked for a time for his grandfather on a farm. Then he was apprenticed to a firm of engineers and iron-founders at St. Helens. Next we find him following his trade of engineer in Liverpool. But though he performed his work in a highly satisfactory manner, the young man had other dreams than that of spending his life as a mechanic amid the sordid surroundings that environed the artisans of England half a century ago. He was by nature daring and unafraid. He was a born leader, possessing the innovating and pioneer spirit in a marked degree. It is not strange, therefore, that when there came to his ears the wonder-stories of the gold-fields of Australia, his blood was fired. To remain at his trade in Liverpool meant a life of drudgery, which he would not have shrunk from if it had promised adequate compensation for the striving, for no man was less afraid of

hard and incessant work than Richard Seddon, but he saw before him no prize worth the winning at his trade. All around him were scores of aged toilers who had grown prematurely old at their work. They had lived frugally and wrought faithfully, and yet if sickness overtook them, there was but a narrow margin of savings between them and the poorhouse. Australia offered a chance, a great chance, to better his condition. It was said to be a land of opportunity. True, he might not find the golden sands or nuggets he hoped for, but he had his trade, and that would stand him in good stead if he failed in his quest. Thus he reasoned, and reasoning so determined to fare forth to the new world in the antipodes.

He sailed for Australia in 1863, arriving at his destination with no worldly wealth. All his capital was a brave and honest heart, willing hands, a superb physical constitution, and a Board of Trade Engineer's Certificate. He repaired at once to the gold-fields, only to meet with continued disappointments, until stern necessity forced him to return to Melbourne to earn a livelihood by his trade. He secured work and soon began to save money. Then in 1865 came news of wonderful gold findings on the west coast of New Zealand, and Seddon, only waiting to receive full confirmation of the report, determined to again seek fortune as a gold-hunter. Accordingly he sailed for New Zealand, arriving in 1866.

IV. A STRONG FIGURE DURING THE DAYS OF GOLD IN NEW ZEALAND.

Few parts of the world in the sixties of the last century presented a busier aspect than the west coast of New Zealand, and probably nowhere in peace-kissed lands was life so strenuous as here. The seamen on the sailing-craft skirting the west side of the islands, who had long been accustomed during the beautiful southern nights to gaze upon the somber coast-line shrouded in gloom and touched

by mystery, now beheld, from West Wanganui on the north to Martin's Bay on the south, the uneven ribbon of black studded and spangled with fairy-like lights. Almost a Milky Way of stars transformed the darkened coast into a jewel-set crown rising from the solemn deep. These were the camps of the army of gold-hunters, and around each gathered men in whose hearts the light of hope burned brightly. Here were men from California, who told thrilling tales of the stirring days of '49, and they were matched by hair-raising stories by the miners of Australia and other free-lances who had wandered far and near,—pioneers and soldiers of fortune.

Into this great hive of workers one day came Richard Seddon, just twenty-one years of age, strong of body and buoyant of spirit. Soon he joined some kindred spirits in developing a claim that they found and staked. Here the young Englishman's knowledge of engineering and mechanics proved very valuable to him and his companions. They were among the first to introduce hydraulic sluicing on a large scale on the West Coast. The results of the experiment were so pronounced that Seddon and his friends were soon among the truly prosperous miners; and though never a niggard and always ready with open hand to succor a miner in need, Richard Seddon refused to throw away his money in gambling and wanton rioting, as did so many miners who seemed to think the golden harvest could never end. "Digger Dick," as he was familiarly called, worked late and early and saved a goodly part of his gold. Soon he opened a store, which proved an additional source of revenue from the start. He also took great interest in the development of the country and soon became a young man of influence and importance in the mining community of the West Coast. He enjoyed the free life of the camp; its hardships only gave relish to its pleasures, and ever afterward its spell lingered over his imagination.

While the young man was rising in

the estimation of his associates and increasing his worldly possessions, his mind was occupied with another subject,—one that had nerved his arm and afforded unfailing stimulation in all hours of trial. When, some years before, he was working at his trade in Australia, he had become acquainted with a young lady of pleasing address and of rare judgment and force of character, by the name of Louisa Spotswood. Her father, Captain Spotswood, though having no objection to young Seddon, discouraged any serious attachment until the young man should have better prospects in life than those that were offered by his precarious and poorly remunerated position. The young people, however, did not despair, and we can well imagine the joy and growing pride felt by the young woman at news of the success of her lover. As his financial prospects grew steadily brighter the wedding day was finally set, and in 1869 Richard Seddon set out for Australia to secure his bride. The wife who accompanied him back to New Zealand became a tower of strength to the husband in all life's changing vicissitudes. She was ever his companion, councillor and friend, and a large part of his great success, it is claimed by those who intimately knew the couple, was due to this exceptional lady.

He now entered politics and served in various responsible capacities in the local government of the West Coast, until in 1879 he was elected to the Parliament of New Zealand. From that date Richard Seddon was a constantly growing force in shaping public opinion without, and in making liberal laws within, Parliament; and at all times and in all places he was loyal to what he believed to be the best interests of the people.

V. NEW ZEALAND TAKES THE LEAD IN THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY.

To understand the real significance of the victories won for humanity and the cause of democracy the world over, by

the Liberal statesmen of New Zealand, of whom Mr. Seddon was one of the master-spirits, it will be necessary to call to mind a fact that cannot be too frequently impressed on the minds of Americans. When the great democratic epoch was ushered in the master-thought dominating the liberal statesmen of the age was the overthrow of privilege and the inauguration of the rule of the people. But the forms of privilege that were oppressing the masses and which always appeared before the mental retina when the irrepressible conflict was the subject of thought or action, were monarchy, the hereditary aristocracy and the autocratic or extra-religious power arrogated by religious hierarchies. Most of the statesmen of the New and Old World in that morning-time of democratic advance failed to see that unless the rights of man, the interest of each unit, were safely and securely bulwarked, privilege in other forms would soon become as autocratic and oppressive as it had been where the throne, the hierarchy and the aristocracy had become the dominant or master-influences in government. Few saw that property, if not subordinated to the rights and interests of manhood in the scale of governmental concern, would soon become an oppressive and corrupting influence, obstructing progress, thwarting justice, defeating the development, happiness and prosperity of all the people, and reintroducing the evils that had long prevailed under other forms of tyranny. Thomas Jefferson, the ablest and clearest-visioned statesman of our early days, clearly saw this all-important fact and fought with all the power of his splendid intellect to place man above money; while Alexander Hamilton, in spite of the great service he rendered to the nation, was a baleful influence in its history, because he distrusted the people and strove to place the control of the government in the hands of a propertied class rather than in the hands of the people, and to centralize government and lodge powers in the hands of the privileged few

which in the nature of the case would soon have resulted in the formation in the New World of a government very similar to that which he regarded as almost an ideal government—the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain.

This distrust of the people and the attempt to make property a preponderating influence in government was the most fatal mistake made by democracy and has defeated its ends, in so far as they have failed.

In Europe the various privileged classes were quick to make alliance with the property-holding *bourgeoisie* in securing legislation that would limit the power of the people; and not only were property qualifications in many nations required, but property was given votes. Thus the more wealth a man had, the more votes he was entitled to cast; and in countries like our own, where one man one vote was the rule, the Hamiltonian idea of the superior sanctity of property over manhood, the giving of special privileges to classes, and the fostering of material acquisitions rather than the making of manhood the first consideration of government have proved the greatest handicap to free institutions. The evils of our government to-day—its corruption and the masterful and insolent arrogance of privileged interests that dominate public servants and the money-controlled machine—are due, not to democracy, but to departure from the fundamental ideals of democracy.

Now at the time when Richard Seddon entered Parliament, and for the next decade, New Zealand was under the thrall of property domination in government. At the elections the men of property were the controlling influence, one man frequently being able to cast forty ballots, because of the extent of his wealth. Nor was this the only evil. Land monopoly—the fountain-head of industrial slavery—was here found in its most aggravated form. As late as 1890, when the Liberals came into power, four-fifths of the land owned by the whole people was in the

hands of great land companies or in enormous estates owned by individuals. A large proportion of the land-holding class lived abroad, and the land had in most instances been acquired for almost nothing. Thus the people were debarred from the land and the propertied class was the ruler of the commonwealth.

Against this undemocratic order Sir George Grey, the Nestor of Liberalism or progressive democracy in New Zealand, raised his voice, demanding the land for the people and "one man one vote," and under his leadership Richard Seddon enlisted with heart and soul. For ten years the battle was waged against almost overwhelming odds. All the so-called "safe and sane" element fought Sir George Grey and denounced Ballance, Seddon and the Liberal leaders as demagogues, agitators, socialists and dangerous characters. A large proportion of the propertied class and the reactionary Conservatives exhausted all the well-known wiles of selfish moneyed interests in attempts to keep the farmers and the artisans at war with each other, while seeking to arouse the fears of the people by persistent predictions of grave disasters should the Liberals come into power. And so powerful was the opposition that before 1890 only two Liberal ministries had come into power, and so small was the Liberal majority that each was soon defeated.

But the Liberals had justice, humanity and the principles of democracy on their side. They were brave, unselfish, determined and, for the most part, wise leaders; while the evils of class domination and special privileges had in New Zealand, as in other lands where privilege in any form usurps the throne of human rights, of justice and equity, produced the Dead Sea fruit of ashes,—a harvest of tears and despair, of misery and ever-spreading poverty.

With property domination assured by the vicious voting system, and with the land held from cultivation by speculators, conditions now went from bad to worse.

In the latter 'eighties no colony under the British flag was in a more pitiable condition than was New Zealand. The streets of her cities were thronged with men vainly begging for a chance to work. Public soup-kitchens and shelter-sheds had been established to prevent the wretched families of the out-of-works from perishing through exposure and starvation. Able-bodied workers were crowding every out-going ship who would gladly have remained and helped develop the island but for inequality of opportunities that rendered it impossible to obtain land or secure work. No better indication can be found of the conditions prevalent in the commonwealth under the "safe and sane" Conservative *régime* which had so long held sway, than the spectacle of 20,000 sturdy workmen being practically driven from the land in five years by inability to earn a livelihood under the conditions that existed.

Such was New Zealand with plutocracy-breeding privilege in the ascendancy. Such was New Zealand when Grey, Ballance, Seddon, Reeves, Ward, Tregear, Stout, McKenzie, and a few other lofty spirits pressed home the new evangel of economic righteousness and democratic demands.

From north to south rang the slogan-cries of the Liberals: the land for the people; one man one vote; equality of opportunities and of rights; and man above the dollar. These were the key-notes struck by the new fathers of free government. The Liberal leaders insisted that the State must first consider the just and necessary rights of the workers, to the end that they should be enabled to develop the best that was in them. As a recent writer expresses it, one of the cardinal principles of the New Democracy of New Zealand was that "The welfare of the worker is of more importance than the profits of the employer."

With a whole commonwealth suffering from the fruits of privilege and property rule; with men flying from her borders

as from a plague; with business stagnation on every hand, even those who had long short-sightedly refused the path of justice and wisdom opened up by Grey, turned now with willing ears to the advocates of a revolutionary programme of progress. "Things cannot be worse," they argued. "Let us give the Liberals a chance."

Soon the moral enthusiasm of the apostles of democracy reached the people. The alarmist cries of the "safe and sane," who had long frightened the multitude, ceased to influence them, and at the election of 1890 the Liberals won a sweeping victory. Then John Ballance, one of the wisest and clearest-visioned statesmen of our time, was called to form a ministry, as Sir George Grey, who was well into the eighties, had withdrawn from public life. Mr. Ballance selected wisely a strong and able cabinet composed of men dominated by moral idealism and practical wisdom. In the cabinet, next to Ballance, the most forceful character and the man who could carry forward a measure better than any other statesman, was Richard Seddon.

Immediately the Liberals began the work of social and economic reform that was often revolutionary in character but always based on justice and a due regard for the rights of man. In the midst of his splendid labors John Ballance was stricken down. He had striven to carry forward more work than his constitution could bear.

VI. MR. SEDDON BECOMES PRIME-MINISTER.

Then it was that Richard Seddon was tendered the high position of Prime-Minister. But for once the sturdy miner hesitated. He knew the fierce opposition that would await him; he knew his educational limitations and the peril of rivalry and warring factions within the Liberal ranks. Naturally enough, at this crisis the aged father of New Zealand Liberalism was profoundly interested in

the election of a Premier who should be able to carry forward the great work that Ballance had laid down. Sir George Grey was a man who read men as others read books. Long years before he had been impressed with the power, sincerity and potential greatness of Richard Seddon. Behind the crudity of the young Parliamentarian's speeches there was thought, and behind the thought a man of heart and conviction. And now it was that Grey sent messages to young Seddon that amounted to commands from a superior officer. Years afterward Mr. Seddon published these notes, which in the crucial moment of his life determined him to accept the grave trust that came to him.

"You have," wrote Grey, "fairly gained the chance. Form a Ministry if you can, but good; if not good, have nothing to do with it. Five are enough to start. If there is any difficulty, others will soon join you. You will have an opportunity of greatly serving your fellowmen. Do it. You have the capacity, do not shrink. All you have to do now is to say you will try to form a Ministry, and I believe you can."

Noting the strange hesitancy on the part of the young statesman, the aged Liberal leader sent him a second and a more urgent note, in which he said:

"You are acting in a great crisis, such as makes a hero. Act with your Maker for the good of His creatures. What anyone else may say or do is nothing to you. The millions of your fellowmen and their Maker—let these be your thoughts. Be brave, unselfish, gentle, but resolute for good. Reflect well before acting; gain time for thought. The good will soon gather round you."

Mr. Seddon hesitated no longer. He took up the work which Ballance had laid down, pressing forward to the successful accomplishment of the greatest series of political, social and economic innovations that any nation has attempted since the dawn of the democratic era—innovations

that were all directed to one end—the securing of the independence, the happiness and the prosperity of all the people through justice and the exercise of that spirit of fraternity in government that is the very heart of the Golden Rule. With one accord the Liberal party moved forward, animated by the loftiest convictions and with clear purpose ever in view. They waged ceaseless war on privilege and avarice whenever and wherever they sought to enslave or place others at a disadvantage. On the other hand, they were tireless in furthering provisions for helping those unfortunately situated to help themselves, and thus become able, independent and in time strong pillars of a growing state.

For sixteen years the Liberal or progressive democrats have been in complete control of the government of New Zealand, and during thirteen of these years Mr. Seddon was not only Prime-Minister, but the masterful chief who by force of reason and persistent appeals to the conscience side of life succeeded in carrying forward, step by step, the progressive programme. From victory to victory he moved with tireless energy. He was far more than Prime-Minister; he was the greatest Parliamentary leader of the period,—a man who knew no such word as surrender. Something of his activity as a leader in the debates may be gained from the fact, mentioned by Professor Parsons in his admirable *Story of New Zealand*, that during "1901 he took part in the proceedings on the floor of the House 400 times." He was the powerful leader of a party that had within its ranks many strong-minded men of differing views. Stout was a prohibitionist; Seddon held to local option. The disciples of Ballance opposed borrowing, even when the work to be done was on railroads and other internal improvements which would in the nature of the case soon greatly exceed as assets the outlay demanded; Seddon held that wise borrowing, which would increase the national wealth and the independence and prosperity of the citizens, was the part of true

wisdom and economy. But in spite of differing views and of a Conservative opposition that beheld with growing alarm the practical success of every great measure placed upon the statute-books by the aggressive Premier, the popularity of Mr. Seddon and his government grew steadily and rapidly. And what a splendid record of victory won for humanity; what a noble new standard set for civilization by the Ballance-Seddon progressive Democratic party of New Zealand during its triumphant march of sixteen years!

The victory for one man one vote was supplemented by full suffrage for women. Wise land legislation placed the source of the people's sustenance and wealth in the hands of the people; and then the government supplemented this by aiding the people to build homes and become free and independent citizens. The land legislation and the acts that have promoted home-building, which have become accomplished facts under the Liberal régime, would alone crown with fadeless glory the statesmanship of any generation; but this division of the reform programme is but one achievement in a series of successive progressive steps taken for the advancement, the happiness, the prosperity and the development of the people and the nation.

The famous arbitration of conciliation act; old-age pensions; the measures providing for a graduated income and a graduated land tax; the complementing of governmental ownership and operation of public utilities by such important offices as that of the public trustee; the establishment of postal savings-banks; government insurance; the promotion of exports through governmental aid; the popular instruction given to the people in dairying and other productive pursuits; the prevention of the evils of monopoly by the government entering into competition with the would-be exploiters of the people, as in the case of the coal mines, which the government acquired and operated in such a way as to bring down the price of coal and save the peo-

ple millions of dollars that would otherwise have been extorted from the people, as they are being extorted from the coal users of America by the coal roads and trusts which control our government to such an extent that the robbery continues; the protection of the people from usury or the extortion of the money-lenders by the government becoming a general money-lender to the home-builders, providing them money at a reasonable rate of interest and under favorable conditions, and by which alone, it is estimated the government has already saved to the mortgagors of New Zealand more than \$40,000,000,—these are but a few of the things already accomplished by the Liberal government which transformed New Zealand from a social hell of want and misery into the most prosperous, peaceful and contented commonwealth in the world.

But space prevents our dwelling longer upon the social, economic and political victories won by Mr. Seddon and his party for New Zealand and for liberalism throughout the world.

As we have before stated, Mr. Seddon was not the originator of many of these enlightened measures and acts, but in all instances he was the fighting chief whose work greatly aided and usually was necessary to the success of the measures advanced. His loyalty to the Liberal programme from the first was as whole-hearted as his services were invaluable, and in later years, especially during the thirteen years of his Premiership, his power steadily increased, until in the end, so thoroughly did the people trust their chief and his party under his guidance, any measure that he fathered was almost certain to become a law.

His one master-passion was the prosperity, happiness and full-orbed development of all the people under the soul-expanding influence of free government. No man in public life ever championed the cause of the public-schools or free education more enthusiastically or effectively than did Richard Seddon. In

his address to the electors, issued just before the last election, he said:

"The school succeeds the cradle, and the education of the young is in importance second only to their physical well-being. During the term the present Government have been in office, our educational system has been extended and reorganized. Our system is now free, from the primary schools to the University, to every child of promise, and a toll of fees is no longer levied on his high road of learning. Teachers' salaries have been increased £100,000 a year, and their incomes no longer unfairly follow a falling-off or rise in our school attendance. The last Conservative Government increased the school age, reduced capita-tion allowance, abolished training schools, instituted the strict as against the general average, and then boasted they had saved £36,000 a year. To save this coin they sacrificed our children; and economy at that price is dearly bought. I must admit that during my term of office the cost of education in New Zealand has increased nearly a quarter of a million, but I glory in an expenditure which has given, and is giving, our children an educational equipment as good as can be found in any part of the world. Our technical schools are flourishing and increasing, and the harvest is rich, while the number of students matriculating at our universities place us, in proportion to our population, first among countries loving higher education. I believe in the American maxim that every man in a democracy should be equipped to pull his own weight, and education is the surest aid to this. Equality of opportunity involves equality of educational advantages, and where you have this equality, the privileged and social castes give place to personal worth and merit. I would extend our school system still, and teach even in the schools of our agricultural districts the technical, scientific knowledge which will enable our farmers to win the very best results from nature."

His ideal of the functions of government was lofty and in accord with the spirit of enlightened twentieth-century democracy, as may be seen from the following extract from the address to which we have just alluded:

"I believe that the cardinal aim of government is to provide the conditions which will reduce want and permit the very largest possible number of its people to be healthy, happy human beings. The life, the health, the intelligence, and the morals of a nation count for more than riches, and I would rather have this country free from want and squalor and unemployed than the home of multi-millionaires. The extremes of poverty and wealth crush the self-respect of the poor, and produce the arrogance of the idle rich. This engenders class bitterness. I have tried to provide such social and economic conditions in this colony as will prevent that helpless subjection of one class to another, so widespread in the older lands. A spirit of self-respecting independence already marks our people, and I would have the title 'New Zealander' imply, the world over, a type of manhood, strenuous, independent and humane. The practical reformer must often be content with small profits and slow returns; he must proceed piecemeal, and by short and steady stages, removing obstructions to and providing facilities for a higher development of the people as a whole. I understand this to be modern humanitarian legislation, and I claim that this spirit pervades all the progressive laws and State experiments that my Administration has tried during the last fifteen years."

Mr. Seddon loved best of all to be called a "humanist." While in Australia, a few days before his death, he said: "All legislation which I have brought to bear upon the human side of life is the legislation that counts most with me. I am a 'humanist.' I desire to improve the condition of the people, to inspire

them with hope, to provide for their comfort, and to improve them socially, morally and politically."

In his last speech, delivered at a dinner given by the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party of Australia, at Melbourne, he insisted that "the greatest curse of our day was the sacrifice of principle to expediency," and declared that: "He believed in a virile national life. But he also believed in putting humanity before theory, and in subordinating property to the interests and welfare of mankind. National life, high ideals, generous aspirations, were necessary, if a people were to become great or a nation to become respected abroad. But where is your national life if misery stalks through your land, if poverty paralyzes your masses, and conditions of degradation prevail in their homes? You must try to better their material conditions. You must see, first of all, that bread and butter are placed within the reach of all. You must not allow to be reproduced here the conditions which unfortunately prevail in the Old Land—conditions which he had no hesitation in describing as scandalous—whereby, according to an undoubted authority, 12,000,000 of our own flesh and blood were reduced to starvation. That reproach should be removed from the Old Land, and never be permitted in the New. Just fancy one-third of the artisan class over 65 years of age being a charge on public or private charity! We must take this as an object-lesson, and shape our labors so as to avert from our children this heritage of degradation and misery."

It has been impossible within the limits of this article to even briefly mention all the great constructive measures that marked the statesmanship of Mr. Seddon and which will give him a permanent place among the great commonwealth builders. We have also had to entirely omit dwelling on his visits to other lands and his labors in behalf of the federation of the British Empire. With some of his imperialistic views we are not in accord;

but for his labors for his own people and his courageous course in carrying forward a programme of enlightenment and progress, which placed man above the dollar and has thus given to democracy its true meaning while exalting New Zealand to the forefront of the moral leaders among enlightened nations, we have only the most profound admiration and gratitude.

VII. THE PASSING OF RICHARD SEDDON.

The untimely death of the great Liberal Premier, which occurred on the 10th of June, was undoubtedly due to overwork. He had visited Australia and had greatly encouraged the people with his counsel and advice. To the statesmen who were at a loss to know how to manage the labor problems that were pressing, Mr. Seddon offered to loan Mr. Edward Tregear, New Zealand's brilliant statesman and Secretary for Labor. He explained that he was the man who had done so much for the Department of Labor in his own commonwealth that he felt sure he would prove invaluable to the statesmen of the sister commonwealth.

His visit had been one continual ovation, and with the proud consciousness that his trip had been helpful to Australia, he turned his face to the land which he was wont to call the paradise of the British Empire, saying, "I am going to God's own country." Two hours after sailing from Australia he died of heart disease, and New Zealand was thrown into profound woe over her great loss. No crowned head or military hero within a hundred years has received from his people so splendid or universal a tribute of love, confidence and respect as was paid to the remains of Richard Seddon by the commonwealth of New Zealand. His funeral and the memorial services held throughout the islands reminded one of the universal grief felt throughout America when George Washington passed from the stage of life; while from every English-speaking state came messages

breathing forth the profound grief of friends of liberal government at the cutting off of the great Premier in the summertime of his usefulness.

VIII. THE GRIEF OF THE MAORIS.

The Maoris had learned to love the great Premier and to look on him as a father, and when the news spread from north to south throughout the native settlements, that the great chief had suddenly fallen in death, great and genuine was the sorrow of this primitive people. Their chiefs and leading representatives begged the privilege of holding a funeral service over the dead at Wellington, similar to that which for generations they had held over the dead bodies of their greatest warriors and chieftains. Their request was granted, and a time was appointed for the Maoris to lament after their custom. Between three and four hundred of the leading men and women of the various tribes in the north and south islands assembled, fully fifty of whom were prominent women among the Maoris.

The obsequies conducted in the capitol at Wellington were thrillingly weird. Never before had such funeral honors been accorded a Christian statesman. So strange and memorable was this ceremony that came from the heart of a wonderful primitive people, so redolent of the wild, free, aboriginal life, and so highly poetic were many of the utterances, that we are tempted to quote somewhat at length from the chieftains' laments and the chants of the Maoris, which at times remind one strongly of the poems of Ossian and make it easy to understand how the gifted author of that unique creation imposed upon the literary world.

IX. THE STRANGEST FUNERAL LAMENTATIONS EVER HEARD OVER A CIVILIZED STATESMAN'S BIER.

The morning of the funeral of the Premier was dark, stormy and forbidding. The lowering and overcast skies and the

moaning winds appealed to the vivid imagination of the natives as strangely fitting.

"The skies are *pouri* (sorrowful) and lowering. It is fitting, for we also are *pouri* and dark at heart," said the mourners one to another. And when the remains of Mr. Seddon were brought into the House of Parliament, the thrilling and mournful ceremony by the natives was opened by this admonition, chanted by the mourners:

"*Haere atu e koro, haere ra! Haere ra!*" meaning, "Go, O friend! Farewell!!—a long farewell!!!"

And then, in a direct manner, as has been their wont for hundreds of years when in the presence of the mighty dead, the mourners chanted this invocation to the spirit of the great one:

"Farewell!! Go ye by the great pathway of the countless dead;

"T is the last road that all must tread."

The ceremonies were as weird as they were impressive, as one by one the leaders of the different tribes uttered their mournful plaint, which was taken up by the rest of the band of the tribe in a sad but musical chanting refrain. Here are some extracts from their lamentations and funeral chants as given by the *New Zealand Graphic*:

"Then tribe after tribe rose to pay tribute to the dead. Chief after chief stood up to deliver his '*poroporoiki*,' his salute to the spirit of Te Hetana. Up rose Hori Te Huki, a gray old chief of Ngatikahungunu, '*Haere ate e koro*'; 'farewell, old man,' he cried, 'go thou to that last dwelling place to salute thy honored ancestors, to greet the spirits of the mighty dead.'

"Then Te Huki broke out into a plaintive lament, in which all his people quickly joined him in a resounding chant. It was an ancient lament by a widow for her departed husband. 'Restless I lie within my lonely house, for the loved one of my life has passed away.' The singers, their voices rising and falling in wild cadence, went on to compare the vanished

chieftain to an uprooted tree: 'My shelter from the blustering wind, alas, 'tis now laid low.' Then the poet developed another beautiful piece of imagery: 'Behold yon glittering star so bright, perhaps 'tis my beloved friend returned to me again. O sire, return and tread with me again by old loved paths.' Changing the metaphor yet again, the mourners chanted all together: 'O thou that art gone, thou wert as a great canoe decked with the snowy down of the lordly albatross.' In another dirge introducing many mythological allusions, the poet said, 'Thou 'rt borne away in the canoe Rewarewa, snatched from us by the gods Raukatauri and Ruatangata. Dip deep the paddles all together to bear thee far away.'

"A Ngaitahu dirge now came:

"Keen blows the nor'-west wind from the mountain land, bringing sad thoughts of thee. Where, oh, hetana, art thou gone? Perhaps in the council hall thou 'rt laid to await thy people's coming. Yes, there lies thy mortal shell, resting at last from its many, from its innumerable travels, from its ceaseless going to and fro. Yes, thou art returned to thy people round yonder mountain cape, back to thy dwelling place. Rest from thy travels, O well beloved. One sharp pang darts through my soul, O lordly totara tree, the pride of Tane's woods. Thou 'rt lowly laid, as was the canoe of Rata, the son of Tane, launched for vengeance on the slayer Matuku, who soon himself was slain. 'Twas thou alone that death didst pluck from the midst of loving men, and now thou standst alone like the bright star of morning. For us, naught but sad memories. Sleep soundly, friend.'

"The veteran Wi Pere, ex-M.H.R. for the Eastern Maori electorate, was the next in the order of 'Whaikoreo.' 'Farewell,' he cried, 'farewell, O friend of mine! Depart to the great night, Te Po, that opens wide for you.' When he began his tribal funeral chant, 'Haere ra e

Koro,' he was joined by his people of Te Aitanga-a-mahaki, Te Rongowhakata, and Ngatiporou in the stentorian song:

"Farewell, O Friend!

Depart to thine ancestral company.

Thou 'rt plucked from us as the flax shoot is plucked from the bush and held aloft among the mourners.

Thou that wert our boast, our pride, whose name has soared high,

Thy people now art lone and desolate.

Indeed, thou 'rt gone, O friend!

Thou 'rt vanished like our ocean fleet of old,

The famed canoes Atamira, Hotutaihirangi, Taiopuapua,

Te Rarotuamahenia, Te Araiteuru, and Nukutaimemeha,

The canoe that drew up from the sea this solid land.

"The allusion in this poem to the shoot of the flaxbush (*Te Rite Harakeke*) requires a little explanation. It refers to one of the old-time methods of divination practiced by the tohungas prior to a war-party setting out on the enemy's trail. The omen reader would pluck up the 'ite' or middle shoot of a flax plant. If the end broke off evenly and straight it was a good sign, presaging an easy victory. If it was jagged and gapped or torn, that was a 'Tohu kino,' or evil omen, a warning that a leading chief of the war-party would be slain.

"The ancient canoes enumerated were some of those which brought the ancestors of the East Coast tribes to this country from the islands of Polynesia. The Araiteuru is the sailing canoe which was wrecked on the beach near Moeraki, South Canterbury, six centuries ago. Nukutaimemeha is one of the mythological names of the canoe from which in the days of remote antiquity the great *maui* 'fished up' this North Island of New Zealand.

"A moment's breathing space, and Wi began again, and all his people chanted with him their lament beginning, 'Marumaru, Raua mai Te whake Ki Poneke':

"Affliction's deepest gloom enfolds this house,

For in it Seddon lies,

Whose death eats out our hearts.

'Twas he to whom we closest clung,

In days gone by.

O whispering north-west breeze,

Flow far for me,
Waft me to Poneke, and take me to the friend I
loved
In days gone by.
O people and all tribes,
Raise the loud cry of grief,
For the ships of Fate have passed Port Jackson's
distant cape,
And on the all-destroying sea our great one died."

Another touching incident connected with the Maori's part at the funeral of the Prime-Minister was the presenting to the family of Mr. Seddon of a memorial drawn up in the Maori and translated into English, expressing the grief of the natives and their sense of loss at the death of their great friend and chieftain. The message was engrossed on a scroll and was read by Mr. Carroll, the Maori member of the Cabinet, after which it was presented to the family of the late Premier. As this message is somewhat unique in literature, we present the English translation in full:

"To Mrs. Seddon, in memory of Richard John Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, from the Maori tribes of Ao-tea-roa (North Island) and Te Wai-pounamu (South Island). Remain, O mother, with thy children and thy children's children. Tarry ye a while in the house of mourning, in the Chamber of Death. Clasp but the cold form of him who was to thee husband beloved. He is now from thee parted, gone into the dark night, into that long, long sleep. God be with thee in thine hour of trial. Here he lies in the calm majesty of death. Rest, oh father. The tribes have assembled to mourn their loss. The canoe is cast from its moorings, its energy and guide are no more. The red-hued bird, the kakakura, the ornament of Ao-tea-roa, the proud boast of the Wai-pounamu, the mighty heart of the land, the moving spirit of the people, fare thee well, a long farewell. Pass on, O noble one, across the long sands of Haumu, beyond the barrier of Paerau, going before to join the illustrious dead. Woe unto us that are left desolate in the Valley of Sorrow. In life thou wert great. Across the great

ocean of kiwa, beset by the turbulent waves of faction, mid the jerserve minds of opinion, thou didst essay forth that thy peoples should reap of the benefits, that these islands and thy mother race should see and do their duty in the broader spheres of Empire and humanity. Fate relentless seized thee in the mid-ocean of effort, and compelled thee into the still waters of death, of rest. Sleep thou, O father, resting on great deeds, sure that to generations unborn they will be as beacons along the highways of history. Though thou art gone, may thy spirit, which so long moved the heart of things, inspire us to greater and nobler ends. Stay not your lamentations, O ye peoples, for ye have indeed lost a father. Verily our path of refuge is razed to the ground. The breastwork of defence for great and small is taken; torn up by the roots is the overshadowing rata tree. As the fall of the towering totara in the deep forest of Tane (*Te Waonui a tane*), so is the death of the mighty man. Earth quakes to the rending crash. Our shelter is gone, who will temper the wind? What of thy Maori people hereafter, unless thou canst from thy distant bourne help and inspire the age to kindlier impulse and action? So bide ye in your grief, bereaved ones. Though small our tribute, our hearts have spoken. Our feet have trod the sacred precincts of the courtyard of death (*Te marae o aitua*), our hearts will be his grave. Love will keep his memory green through the long weary years. *Hei Konei ra. Farewell.*"

The life of Richard John Seddon cannot fail to prove an inspiration to every young man and woman of conscience, courage and conviction. The child who was born in the little ivy-covered cottage outside the hamlet of St. Helens, who became an engineer and later a penniless miner, through long perseverance, hard work and a lofty ambition ever guided by moral idealism and the spirit of freedom and fraternity, became ere-long one of the world's greatest positive moral

forces in legislation; a man who played a major part in leading his commonwealth to the very van of advanced, progressive, wise and humane civilization; the most illustrious apostle of free institutions of the past fifty years; and a man whose ideals and deeds to-day shine as a beacon throughout the world of reaction-

ary thought, pointing to the justice-kissed heights of pure democracy, where man counts more than money, where the solidarity of the race is recognized, and where the principles of the Golden Rule become the practical ideal of the State.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

N. O. NELSON, PRACTICAL COÖPERATOR, AND THE GREAT WORK HE IS ACCOMPLISHING FOR HUMAN UPLIFTMENT.

BY GEORGE W. EADS.

TO MAKE business serve the real purposes of rational living; to throw around the man who toils the highest and most inspiring social, educational and industrial environments; to harmonize the differences between capital and labor by an equitable distribution of profits, and to make the world a better and more beautiful place in which to live, are the four-fold objects of N. O. Nelson, the picturesque Western philanthropist, whose coöperative colony at Leclaire, Illinois, is a marvelous study in simplicity and humanitarianism, and a very near approach to human perfection.

The problem of common-sense living, in the philosophy of Mr. Nelson, embraces six primary factors—work, education, recreation, beauty, homes, and freedom. These obligations which the individual owes to society cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled, nor these rights and privileges which society owes him cannot be enjoyed, under the best conditions, Mr. Nelson believes, until there has been a thorough reconstruction of twentieth-century business ideals. The system which encourages the building up of colossal fortunes at the sacrifice of personal honor upon the altar of greed—which condones trickery and bargain-driving as commercial shrewdness, and makes the under-employed the instru-

ments for grinding out dividends, without regard to their social or physical welfare—in the estimation of this business reformer, is entirely wrong. During a business career of forty years Mr. Nelson has witnessed the continued growth of capital at such an accelerated rate that it has become top-heavy, placing in the hands of the extremely wealthy, a tremendous power that has greatly complicated our mode of living. Business has been made the chief aim and object of life, instead of an incident in the problem of right living. The millionaire surrounds himself with luxury in his palace in an exclusive residence neighborhood—his employes exist in the germ-charged atmosphere of the crowded slums. Life for the one is a train of complex indulgences—for the other a miserable poverty that robs him of opportunity and all but the necessities of a bare existence. Rational living is impossible for the one because he has too much—for the other because he has too little. There is no common ground upon which they may mutualize their interests. It is to get back to right principles—to a common-sense, simple system of living that Mr. Nelson has instituted and carried to a successful conclusion a radical departure in social and business customs.

Wealthy himself, and the master-genius

of a great manufacturing business, Mr. Nelson lives in the sphere of simple democracy. He is carrying out his own ideas of philanthropy and business reform. He stands uniquely alone as the one man in the country still actively engaged in business who takes not a dollar of profit for his own use. For twenty years he has been sharing the profits of his business with the employes in his factories, salesrooms and offices. Recently he made another step. He admitted his customers to partnership in his company. His share of profits from the business, amounting last year to \$108,000, was distributed among his employes, customers and the public. He has built Leclaire, a thriving, model city for himself and his employes to live in. He has established a consumptive colony in the Indio desert of Southern California, where the victims of the great white plague who find themselves stranded in a strange country, may regain their health and strength. He is building homes for the employes of his factories in Bessemer, Alabama, and kindergartens for their children. He gives large sums for philanthropy; little for charity. If there were more philanthropy, he believes, there would be no need for charity. If business were made to serve the purposes of sensible living there would be little necessity for almshouses, or jails, or penitentiaries.

Ideas are one thing; their execution another. Mr. Nelson has the ideas, and the ability, means and determination to execute them. He has put into practice what looks beautiful in theory. The real, practical philanthropy, as Mr. Nelson has interpreted it through his work and the institutions he has founded, has a far-reaching influence in the elevation of the race to a higher and nobler plane of living.

Choosing the rock of common-sense benevolence as a substantial foundation Mr. Nelson proceeded to work his ideas into tangible things. Thirty years ago he began to take an unusual interest in

labor troubles. Though an employer, he sympathized with the men under him who were struggling for a foothold. There is no particular event in his life that can be regarded as the turning-point toward a career of philanthropy. His first work of any consequence in the direction of a public charity was in 1879 when he organized a fresh-air mission in St. Louis which has annually given free summer excursions on the Mississippi river for the benefit of the mothers and children of the tenements. A few years later he built a number of bath-houses on the river-front, which were free to everybody. About twenty years ago he was appointed a member of a citizens' committee to wait on H. M. Hoxie, manager of the Gould system, to devise means of settling the great railroad strike that was paralyzing the industries of the country. The committee went to New York, but was denied an audience with the railroad official. This caused Mr. Nelson to delve deeper into the labor question. His conclusion, after much investigation, was that there could be no industrial peace until the conflicting elements between capital and labor had been harmonized. It was his opinion that capital was receiving more than its just proportion of wages, and that labor was underpaid. Several large European manufacturers were experimenting with profit-sharing. Mr. Nelson liked the idea. He decided to put it into use. Since 1886 every employe of the Nelson industries has received in dividend-bearing stock a share of the profits of the company.

Four years later Leclaire rose like a magic city upon the gently undulating Illinois prairie, near the little town of Edwardsville, twenty miles from St. Louis. That was the real beginning of Mr. Nelson's broader and more effective philanthropic work. He has continued with such splendid success that it is no more than simple justice to rank him among the greatest benefactors to his race that America has produced. Admirable as Mr. Nelson's work is, he has

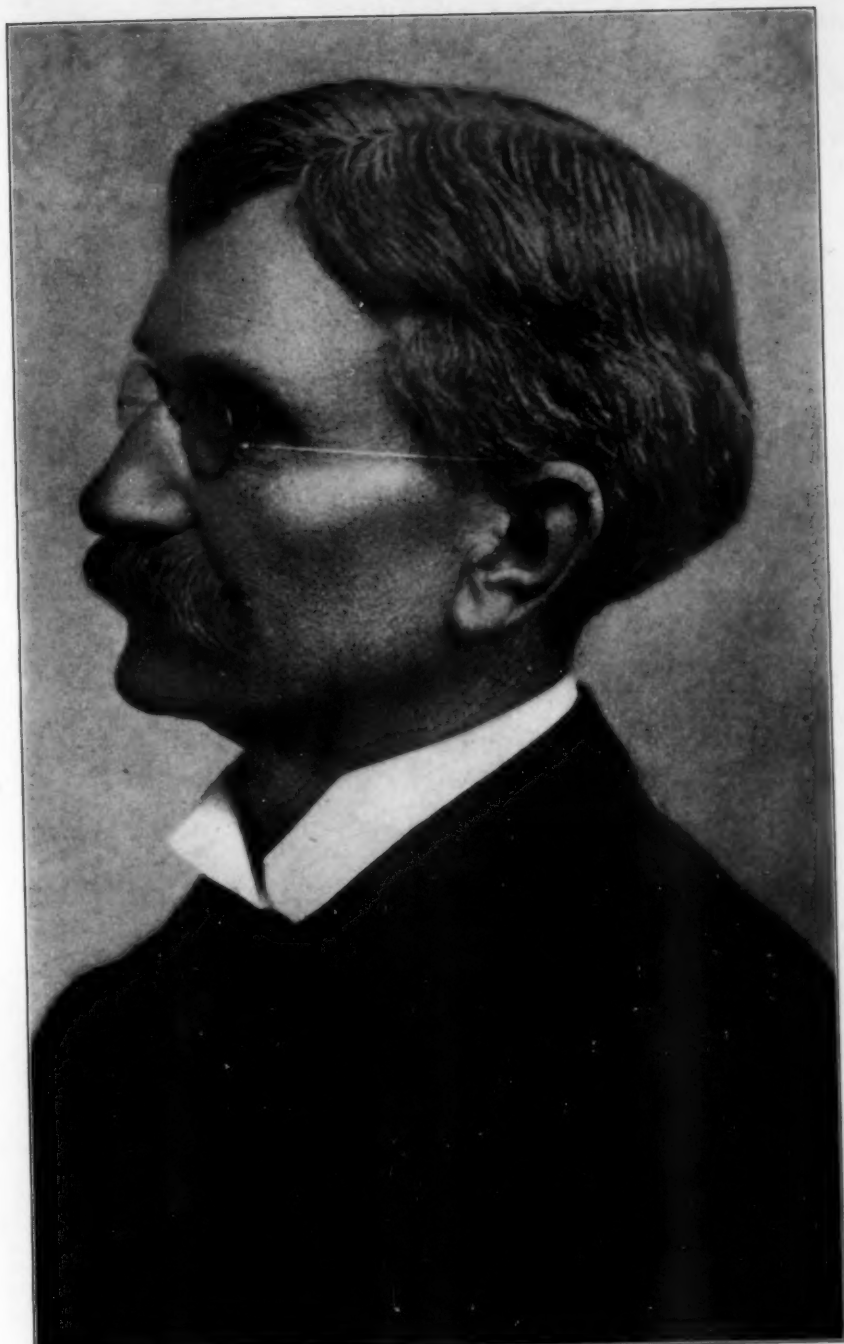


Photo. by Murillo.

N. O. NELSON

THE ARENA





Photo. by Fitzpatrick, Bessemer, Ala.

NEGRO KINDERGARTEN AT BESSEMER, ALABAMA.

created nothing more remarkable than himself. Thirty years ago he was a stern business man. He was successful as the world measures success and was soon rated a millionaire. But the processes of self-directed evolution have transformed the serious man of commercial affairs into the light-hearted philanthropist whose efforts have lifted a considerable portion of the race into a loftier social and moral atmosphere. Rising out of a business community whose richest men laid the foundation of their fortunes by purchasing public officials as if they had been so many cattle offered at auction in the pens, Mr. Nelson stands among his fellows uniquely alone—a powerful exponent of the simple life and business reform. When Folk lifted the curtain on municipal corruption in St. Louis ten leading millionaire business men were found to be involved. How many escaped exposure because a three years' statute of limitations threw around them a screen of secrecy will never be known, but only recently Governor Folk

told me that he seldom entered a café in St. Louis, boarded a train, or walked half a dozen blocks on the streets that he did not come in contact with some man of great wealth who had poisoned the very functions of state or municipal government by the bribery of public officials. The recent exposures have given the people of the country a pretty accurate idea of existing business and financial methods and their relation to government affairs. It is only necessary to say here that if the plan of Mr. Nelson had been generally adopted the standard of business ethics of the country would be high; people would have faith to invest their earnings in various enterprises without fear of being robbed by dishonest officials, and there would not be the specter of a Homestead massacre or the tyrannical hand of a trust magnate lurking in the shadow of our so-called great philanthropies.

Mr. Nelson is a native of Norway. He came to America with his father when he was two years old, and grew to manhood

on a farm near St. Joseph, Missouri. Starting out for himself as a young man he secured employment as a book-keeper in a St. Louis plumbing-supply house. In a year he acquired an interest in the business, in two years was its manager, and at the end of five years withdrew and established the present N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company, with general offices and salesrooms in St. Louis, and factories at Leclaire, Illinois, and Bessemer, Alabama. He now has three-quarters of a million dollars invested in the business, and the annual sales of the company amount to \$3,000,000. Mr. Nelson's share of the profits last year was \$108,000, of which \$53,000 in dividend-paying stock went to his customers; \$38,000 to his employés, and \$17,000 in cash to the public.

Let us now, with this introduction, turn from the general to the specific, and form a more intimate acquaintance with Mr. Nelson and his work, and by examining his ideas of business and philanthropy, as we find them exemplified at Leclaire and in the affairs of the company of which he is president, determine whether he is promoting rational living—whether he has been successful in his effort to solve the great problem of life along the most humanitarian lines.

First profit-sharing, and then Leclaire. The latter was the natural consequence of the former, for when Mr. Nelson's interest in the financial welfare of his employés became deep-rooted enough to influence him to share his profits with them, it was but another step when he began building homes for them and throwing around them an environment that would give them a powerful social and intellectual uplift.

Sixteen years ago Mr. Nelson purchased one hundred and twenty-five acres of land adjoining the city of Edwardsville, Illinois, twenty miles east of St. Louis. Here he founded Leclaire. The principal factories of the company were removed from St. Louis to the new town to provide work for its inhabitants.

Mr. Nelson closed his magnificent mansion in St. Louis and went to Leclaire to live in a modest two-story frame house which he had erected for his own home. In the beginning a dozen comfortable six-room houses on lots one hundred by one hundred and forty feet were built for the employés. The village was laid out on the park plan, the long avenues and driveways meandering gracefully through it. Leclaire was a success from the beginning, and now it is a wonderful community of five hundred persons.

It has no mayor, no aldermen, no municipal government, no rules, no do n'ts. There is absolute individual freedom. The dweller in Leclaire is not compelled to do anything. He may work for the Nelson company or elsewhere as he prefers. Freedom is one of the cornerstones of Leclaire. It was Mr. Nelson's idea that his people shall be untrammelled. He believed that with proper surroundings laws would not be needed to hold them in restraint. He never gives an order—never speaks a cross word. And yet Leclaire, with its lack of conventionality, has a well-defined plan, the central purpose of which is to make life worth living. The plan, as set forth at the beginning of this story, has six distinct features, all separate in themselves, yet dove-tailing so nicely that there is not the slightest discord. The subdivisions which might be called the foundation principles, in the plan of Leclaire, are in their relative importance: Work, Education, Recreation, Beauty, Homes and Freedom. Manifestly the most important consideration in the building of a city to promote right living is work. Employment is provided by the large factories that are in operation throughout the year. Not a man who is able to work is idle. There is something for everybody to do. The regular union wage scales are paid in the factories at Leclaire. Wages are no higher nor lower than elsewhere for the same kind of work. Living expenses are reduced to the minimum, and as the employés derive stated



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

HOME OF N. O. NELSON, LECLAIRE.

profits each year from the stock they own in the company, they are able to get along far better than the average workman whose employer's interest in him ceases when he is handed his pay envelope at the end of the week. Work being essential in the scheme of life, and necessary to its fullest enjoyment, Mr. Nelson believes that the conditions under which men labor ought to be made as pleasant and agreeable as possible. The factories at Leclaire are well ventilated. The windows are large, admitting the maximum of light. Mr. Nelson is a great believer in fresh air. That was one of the principal reasons for building Leclaire, because it took his employes from the crowded districts of St. Louis and sat them down upon the broad, rolling prairie over which sweeps air as pure as ever flowed from nature's fountain. While every man employed in the Nelson

factories is expected to attend to his duties there are no bosses to continually prod them. Being profit-sharers in the business they are interested in its success and work with a will, needing no boss. It is an inspiration to visit the factories and see every man working as if he enjoyed it. In the summer time the windows and doors are wide open and floods of light and air pour into the workshops, giving the employes practically all of the advantages of out-door work, with none of its inconveniences.

The men are members of the union or not as they choose. Mr. Nelson believes in labor unionism, properly directed, and encourages his employes to join the unions. But that is a matter wholly of their own choice. There has never been any serious labor trouble at Leclaire. In the sixteen years of its existence there have been two sympathetic strikes, neither of which



Photo. by Fitzpatrick, Bessemer, Ala.

COTTAGES AT BESSEMER, ALABAMA.

originated from any trouble in the Nelson factories. The strikes were of short duration. There has been such entire harmony between Mr. Nelson and his employes that it may be truthfully said that he has solved the labor question. Panics or financial stringencies have no effect on Leclair. During the financial crisis of 1893 every factory in Leclair was operated at its full capacity and there was not an idle man in the town. As a precautionary measure the men were asked to accept a ten per cent. reduction in wages, but at the end of the business year it was found that the reduction was not necessary and the loss in wages sustained by each employé was restored to him, together with his share of the dividends. Next in importance to work, in the plan of Leclair, is education. The smaller children in Leclair attend the kindergarten equipped and maintained by Mr. Nelson and then pass on to the public-schools of Edwardsville. Illinois has a compulsory education law which requires that all children between the

ages of six and fourteen years shall attend school during the entire term. Mr. Nelson is planning to establish a free industrial school in connection with Leclair. Students will be given an opportunity to work their way through the school. The school will be strictly non-sectarian and open to all young men and women who are anxious to educate themselves. They will be given employment in the shops and fields, and any ambitious and industrious boy or girl can easily get an education through the medium of this school. There will be a manual training department in which instruction in the trades will be given. For the maintenance of the kindergarten, which has been in existence ever since Leclair was founded, there has been set aside an endowment fund of \$10,000, which is being increased as the occasion demands. The greater part of the expense, however, is borne directly by Mr. Nelson, who provides an excellent corps of teachers.

There is a well-stocked library con-



VIEW OF MR. NELSON'S INDIO CONSUMPTIVE VILLAGE FROM RESERVATION.

taining thousands of volumes. The daily newspapers and current magazines are always found on the tables of the reading-rooms. Lectures are given during the winter season, some of the most noted platform orators of the country having deemed it a pleasure to visit Leclaire and address its people. A debating society holds regular meetings and many entertainments of an educational nature are given. The people of Leclaire have developed habits of study. It is doubtful if there is any like number of people in the world who are so generally well informed on all subjects. Mr. Nelson is a great reader and a thorough student, especially of political economy. He believes that an education is as essential to the factory laborer as to the lawyer, doctor or merchant. Therefore he has made it possible to begin aright the education of every child in Leclaire. His industrial school, when completed, will every year place a good education within easy reach of at least three hundred boys and girls.

There is an axiomatic truth that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.

There is ample time for play in Leclaire. Mr. Nelson considers recreation one of the essential features of rational living. Hence there are bowling alleys, baseball grounds, billiard rooms, dancing halls and a large lake for rowing and swimming in the summer and skating in the winter. There are swings on the common lawns for the children, and hay-rides and other innocent amusements are given regularly during the summer season for the young people of the community. Mr. Nelson participates in the sports. There is seldom a baseball game played in which he is not the umpire. He is thoroughly familiar with the rules of the great national game and handles the indicator with skill. When he feels the need of a little vigorous exercise he gets into the game. He can lay down a pretty bunt or drive out a sharp single as the occasion demands, run bases and catch flies with the agility of a youth. He has such a wonderful physique that at the age of sixty-two years he is as active as a school-boy. He can play a good game of billiards, run up a creditable score in a gam-



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

WORKMEN'S HOMES AT LECLAIRE.

of tenpins or cocked hat, or dance the Highland fling with the grace and sprightliness of a youth of twenty. It is no uncommon sight to see Mr. Nelson on the lawn at evening surrounded by a bevy of merry children. He often participates in their games, and the little fellows think it a great treat when they can induce him to play marbles with them or take a spin around the block on roller-skates.

From early spring until late fall Leclaire is a flower garden of wondrous beauty. The atmosphere is sweet with the fragrance of the flowers. The landscape presents a perfect picture of harmony and beauty to the eye. The skill of the landscape gardener has beautified the entire surroundings. The driveways are banked with brilliant-hued flowers, and the public lawns rival in beauty the finest parks in the country. There is a good sized lawn in front of each house. Every lawn is a flower garden, and there is a good natured rivalry among the people to see who can create the most beauty around his home. Mr. Nelson's home

stands in the center of a block. The advent of the first spring after the founding of Leclaire saw Mr. Nelson making flower-beds on his lawn. He planted his flowers and cultivated them with his own hands. It was not necessary for him to tell others what to do. They saw that it was his purpose to make Leclaire a beautiful place in which to live and they went to work to make their surroundings attractive. Few of the men whom Mr. Nelson took to Leclaire knew anything about the planting and cultivation of flowers. Their lives had been spent in the cities. They had never lived close to nature. If one of them was careless and took no interest in beautifying his lawn, the public gardener was sent to mow the grass, or perhaps, Mr. Nelson went with hoe and spade and prepared flower-beds and planted seeds in his yard. Never a word was spoken to the householder, but it was seldom necessary to send the gardener a second time. The shade trees which were planted when the village was laid out are now large and

thrifty. The trees were planted in rows along the avenues and around the houses. The lake, which lies a little distance from the town, is skirted by a natural forest which gives Leclaire a background setting of great beauty.

A hedge fence separates the factories of Leclaire from the homes. It is the dividing line between work and play. The flower gardens, however, are not confined to the residence side of the fence. Even the harsh surroundings of the factories have been transformed into marvelously beautiful floral pictures that are a delight to the eye and a gratification to the esthetic sense of man. Ornamental vines leap up the side of the factory walls and cling to the eaves. The outward appearances are all attractive and even as the men pursue their daily tasks the zephyrs waft the sweet fragrance of the flowers through the shop-windows.

All this beauty is not for Leclaire alone. From the time the earliest flowers bloom in the spring until the frosts have withered the hardy plants in the fall, Mr. Nelson may be seen leaving his home every morning with his arms filled with bouquets. He takes an early train to St. Louis, and reaches the general offices of the company while the morning air is still cool and refreshing. After going through his mail, and attending to the most urgent business matters, he takes a bundle of flowers and leaves the office. The great tenement quarter of St. Louis lies a few blocks north. Many thousands of the city's poor live in this neighborhood. Along the crowded streets Mr. Nelson walks briskly, stopping here and there to pass out a handful of flowers to a pale-faced child or a sicklied mother. The children of the tenements know him. They flock at his heels, chatting with him and babbling his praise in their native tongues. He is known as a good angel among them and they recognize his very footfalls. When his flowers are all gone he walks back to his office and resumes his work. The hour or so thus spent is a recreation for the philanthropist and his daily walks

through the congested districts of the city carry happiness to many hearts. It was to remove his employes from just such surroundings as these that Mr. Nelson took them to Leclaire and built them homes, and surrounded them with flowers, shrubbery and artistic landscape. It has cost a great deal of money to make Leclaire beautiful, but the dividends have been amply returned in the better citizenship which the environments of the community have produced.

Mr. Nelson has made it possible for every employé living in Leclaire to own his home. When the cornerstone was laid the town-site was divided into lots, having each a frontage of one hundred feet and a depth of one hundred and forty feet. The construction of a dozen houses was begun. They were substantial frame structures, setting well back from the streets and containing from six to ten rooms. Electric lights and running water were placed in each house. As soon as the houses were completed they were sold or rented to the employes of the Nelson factories. Those who wanted to own their homes were given an opportunity to buy them on monthly payments, about equal to what they would have paid in rent for much inferior accommodations in the city. A comfortable six-room house, with a large lot, could be purchased for \$1,400 or \$1,500 and paid for at the rate of \$15 or \$20 a month, according to the ability of the buyer to pay. Good houses rented as low as six dollars a month, including light and water service. Mr. Nelson encouraged his employes to buy their homes, and gave them every opportunity to pay for them. Many poor men who have made an effort to buy homes in the cities on the instalment plan have lost everything when misfortune befell them and they were unable to keep up their payments. Mr. Nelson did not build the homes in Leclaire for profit, but because he believed that the homeowner was a better citizen than the renter. He did not lay down any hard and fast rules governing the payments on the



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

WORKMAN'S HOME, LECLAIRE.

houses. If a man falls sick the payments on his house cease until he is able to resume work. No unfair advantage is taken of him, and there are no forfeits to pay. One man was incapacitated by sickness for two years. He had bought his home on the instalment plan and started to pay for it. During his sickness he drew a stated allowance from the sick-benefit fund—not his full salary, but enough for himself and his family to live comfortably upon—and the payments on his house were allowed to lapse. When he regained his health and resumed work he renewed his payments just where he would have been if he had kept them up during the two years. This may not be good business, but it is what Mr. Nelson calls good philanthropy. It is doing good where it needs to be done. The same rule applies to all employes who are paying for their homes on the instalment system. Most of the residents of Leclaire now own their homes. The laboring man or mechanic in the city who

owns his home is the exception. Very few men of that class have the ambition to become home-owners. They are satisfied to pay rent all their lives—to live at the mercy of the landlords. The homes in Leclaire are not common property. They were all built originally by Mr. Nelson and sold to the individual employes. The homes in Leclaire are on the cottage plan, with the exception of Mr. Nelson's. For his own use he erected a plain, two-story house, in the center of a block of ground. He takes care of the large lawn himself, planting the flowers and gardens and cultivating them with his own hands.

Very few persons who attempted to buy homes in Leclaire failed. Those who, for any reason, desired to move away after starting to pay for their homes, were charged a reasonable rental for the use of the house and the difference between that sum and the entire amount paid in was returned to them. The standard of civic pride in Leclaire is high.

Being a community comprised principally of home-owners the people take great pride in making their surroundings attractive. There is not a carelessly-kept lawn in the village. Six years is all the time required to pay for a home in Leclaire, and the monthly instalments need not exceed twenty dollars—no more than the average laboring man pays for three or four small rooms in the crowded districts of the cities.

The sixth primary principle in the plan of Leclaire is freedom. It was Mr. Nelson's design to take his employés away from the cities and give them an opportunity to establish their own industrial and social freedom—to enjoy the best there is in life without restriction or restraint. He desired to get them out of the atmosphere of sixteen-story buildings—away from wholly commercial influences—away from the money-changing centers—and demonstrate to them that the real purpose of life is rational living. When they went to Leclaire he did not trammel them with hard and fast rules, nor require them to live up to certain regulations. He did not set up a municipal government and formulate laws for anybody to obey. The town is outside of the municipal limits of Edwardsville and is governed only by the laws of the state. Leclaire has no saloons. It has no law against drinking, but it has no tipplers. There are no churches. The people are free to worship where they choose. There are no religious requirements. There is no long list of do n'ts posted conspicuously for the guidance of the people. They do as they please—but they please to do right. Mr. Nelson has demonstrated to his own satisfaction that laws are not needed to restrain people from wrong-doing when their environments are in harmony with the ideals of right living. His people bow to the will of no boss. Naturally Mr. Nelson is the dominant power in the direction of the affairs of the community, but it is doubtful if he realizes it. He does not arrogate one iota of authority to himself. He is simply

one of the people among whom he is living, enjoying the freedom that he established for others. He has but one voice in the affairs of the colony, and he does not hold himself to be any better than the humblest of his employés. With the liberties granted the people, and with every restraint thrown off, there has never been need for a peace officer in the community. The deportment of everybody has been excellent. Neighbors love each other in accordance with the biblical injunction and the children, imbued with the spirit of Leclaire's founder, play together like brothers and sisters.

It was upon the broad principles of work at good wages for every able-bodied man; of recreation to divert the mind from business cares and recuperate the tired body; of beauty to appeal to the gentler and finer sensibilities of the man; of comfortable homes for everybody to live in, and of complete freedom for every man, woman and child, that Leclaire was founded and has grown to be the most successful semi-coöperative colony in the country. There are other features subsidiary to these. Leclaire has a coöperative store, owned in common by its people. Each person is allowed the ownership of one share of stock, which he pays for as he is able. The store has been in existence for several years and the experiment has been highly successful. The store buys for cash and sells for cash. It has returned annual dividends of ten to twenty per cent. to its stockholders.

Last summer a large house in Leclaire was vacant. Mr. Nelson instructed one of his young women employés to take charge of it and place it at the disposal of the working-girls of the city. During the few months the house was open 130 girls from St. Louis—stenographers, shop-girls, and factory employés—visited Leclaire and spent their vacations there. They were furnished comfortable quarters free of charge, their only expense being about two dollars a week for board. They had the free use of the library, the



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

ENTRANCE TO LECLAIRE.—SCHOOL-HOUSE IN THE DISTANCE.

campus, the lake and boats, and the club-rooms. The house has again been thrown open this summer and it is probable that a much larger number of girls will spend their vacations in this delightful village.

Leclaire is a Mecca for children from the St. Louis tenements during the heated term. Frequent excursions are run between St. Louis and Leclaire and thousands of little fellows are taken from the streets and hovels into the pure atmosphere and beautiful surroundings of the village to spend the day romping about the campus, swimming in the lake and playing hide-and-seek in the woods.

The portion of the one hundred and twenty-five acre tract not occupied by the factories, village and lake is under cultivation. The farm supplies the community with fresh vegetables during the summer season.

Such is Leclaire—the Utopia where the capitalist and the working-man dwell in peace and perfect harmony—the fairy-land where all of the essential things in the problem of right living have been

generously provided by a master-genius in the art common-sense philanthropy.

Leclaire was designed to be the cap-sheaf of Mr. Nelson's philanthropies, but it is by no means his only benevolent work. Profit-sharing has long been a hobby with Mr. Nelson. We have already seen why he adopted the system twenty years ago. Mr. Nelson has all the money he wants. He cares nothing for profits and dividends for his own use. He thinks so well of the idea of profit-sharing that last year when he decided to quit taking profits he concluded that the customer, being as essential to the success of a business as the employé, was entitled to share in the distribution of dividends. The profits of a business are derived from the labor of the employés and the patronage of the customers. Large profits are made by paying labor inadequate wages, or charging customers too much for the finished product. Mr. Nelson has endeavored to adjust the scale of business by returning to the employés and the customers everything in

excess of the reasonable earnings of capital. For many years he has estimated that six per cent. on the capital invested was sufficient wages for capital to earn, and that all in excess of that rightfully belonged to the employés. Upon carrying profit-sharing to what he considers its logical conclusion he decided to take in the customers last Christmas in the distribution of the earnings of the company. His share of the profits from the year's business amounted to \$108,000, of which \$58,000 was distributed among his customers, \$43,000 among his employés, and \$17,000 to the public through his various benefactions. One customer and one employé were elected directors in the company. Some of the employés who have been accumulating stock for a long time drew as much as \$1,500 in dividends last year. The employés and customers not only participate in the division of profits, but receive dividends on the stock they own. Mr. Nelson has not made any provision to retain personal control of the business he has established by the work of a lifetime. He has confidence enough in the men whom he has admitted as stockholders in the company to believe that they will keep in office a management that will safeguard its interests. The employés of the company received an average of \$86 out of the profits distributed last year in addition to the dividends on their shares of stock.

Mr. Nelson has not confined his philanthropies to St. Louis and Leclaire, although they have been the centers of his extensive benevolent work. While spending the winter of 1902 in Southern California he came in contact with many stranded consumptives who had no means of getting home or supporting themselves in a strange country. The heavy fogs and chilly atmosphere that prevail on the Pacific coast in midwinter prove harmful to persons afflicted with pulmonary troubles instead of beneficial. Thousands of persons go to Los Angeles under the apprehension that the climate will cure consumption, when the reverse

is quite true. Mr. Nelson saw the emaciated sufferers practically helpless, many of them in a dying condition. They hoped that a change of climate would hold the dread disease in check and that they could pay their way by light work. The hotels and boarding-houses would not accept the patronage of consumptives, and the sanitariums charged them from \$12 to \$25 a week. Mr. Nelson saw an opportunity to do a work that needed doing. He went into the Indio desert, where the climate is ideal for the treatment of consumption, and purchased a tract of one hundred and forty acres. It lies near the town of Indio, on the Southern Pacific railroad. He laid out a tent-city, drilled artesian wells to supply water for irrigation, paved the streets of his novel village with cinders, and then extended a general invitation to consumptives throughout the country to come to Indio and get well.

He purchased a herd of cows and a lot of chickens to supply fresh milk and eggs for the invalids. He prepared flower-beds and cultivated the flowers. In a few months an artificial oasis in the desert had sprung up, and a magical white city had risen upon the barren sand-wastes. Consumptives came from everywhere. Those who were able to pay were charged a small sum to defray actual expenses. The poor were permitted to enjoy the benefits of the consumptive camp free. Employment was provided for those strong enough to work. Mr. Nelson is a philosopher as well as a philanthropist. He believed that light work would prove beneficial to the invalids by diverting their minds from their disease. Fresh milk and eggs, congenial employment, and living almost entirely out-of-doors soon worked a wonderful change in the dwellers of the desert city. The hectic flush was succeeded by the rose-tint of returning health. The hacking cough disappeared as the light, pure air healed the fissures in the lungs. Mr. Nelson did not want the consumptives to brood over their condition and thus aggravate the



Photo. by Brimmer, St. Louis.

CAMPUS AT LECLAIRE.—MR. NELSON UMPIRING A GAME OF BASEBALL.

disease. With a view of keeping their minds employed during every waking hour he erected a large dancing pavilion. Every evening there is dancing and merriment. Medicine bottles are not allowed in the Indio health-camp. They are not needed. A large majority of the invalids who go there and work and laugh, eat the nourishing fare provided, and sleep almost out of doors, get well and strong. Some dare not go home under penalty of a return of the disease. Others prefer to live in the desert. Consumption makes its greatest ravages among the poor, and many who went to Indio had barely enough money to pay their railroad fare to that point. To meet the situation Mr. Nelson cut up his tract of land in two and five-acre lots, and arranged to lease or sell them to convalescents on any kind of terms. With the perfect system of irrigation a few acres of land, rightly cultivated, will yield a good living. The Indio health-camp is the nearest approach to a charitable enterprise of any of Mr. Nelson's work. He desired to strip it of its aspect of charity as much as possible and make it purely a philanthropy—a place where the consumptive can go and get well without being dependent upon

others. The Indio camp has passed through the experimental stage. It is now a permanent, thriving institution, and will stand as a monument to the common-sense and generosity of one man who seems to have the knack of doing many needful things right. With one stroke of his hand he has transformed the sand dunes into a health-giving oasis, whose healing waters cool the hectic's flaming brow and conquer the monster plague of the race.

Mr. Nelson is beginning to do, on a smaller scale, at Bessemer, Alabama, what he has already done at Leclaire. His company has a large soil-pipe factory at Bessemer. Iron manufacturing is the principal industry of the town, and the surroundings are intensely harsh. The inhabitants are largely employés of the numerous factories. They have little innate love of the beautiful and their condition in life is such that they cannot be expected to possess any great degree of civic pride. Mr. Nelson is gradually changing these conditions so far as his own employés are concerned. He permits them to share in the profits of the company, is building homes for them to live in, and maintains schools for the ed-

ucation of their children. White and colored employés are treated alike. One of the interesting features of his educational work in Bessemer is a kindergarten for the children of his negro employés. Mr. Nelson has secured the services of one of the most competent teachers in Alabama and placed her in charge of the colored kindergarten. Lack of room, the Nelson factories being in the heart of the city, will somewhat limit the philanthropist's work in Bessemer. A dozen substantial houses have been completed and rented or sold to the employés on easy terms. Flowers grow in profusion around the factories, and Mr. Nelson has encouraged his employés to beautify their homes. He is instilling into them that spirit of civic pride that has made Leclaire an ideal city. In time he hopes to have homes for all of his employés in Bessemer, and to create in the iron-producing district of Alabama, a community that will compare favorably in every respect with Leclaire.

Mr. Nelson is a volcano of ideas, and possesses the rare virtue of putting his theories into practice. His principal purpose in life during the past twenty years has been to make men rather than money—an unusual, but altogether pleasant, diversion for a man who has been successful in the commercial world. We have seen how, in the working out of his idea that business should be made to promote rational living, he has taken five hundred people from the crowded city and given them homes in a community where there is no poverty, no crime, little sickness, an abundance of beauty and fresh air, and where the profits of industry, above a modest six per cent. on the capital invested, are made to serve the common good of all. He is the shepherd of peace and plenty, and his flock knows no trouble, no want.

Mr. Nelson recently startled business men and financiers by asking the pertinent question: "Can any man 'earn' a million dollars?" He answered his own question in the negative, advancing the

argument that the greatest fortunes are made, not by reason of service, but by cunning, and that more than one half of the million-dollar fortunes are the result of trickery or luck. Most of the other great fortunes have been made, he contended, by hired ability and not by the individual's own efforts. A million, he said, stands for power, luxury, prominence—elements that have caused the troubles and disasters of mankind. He pointed to the fact that Washington served his country without pay; that Lincoln was not a money-maker; that General Lee refused the presidency of an insurance company with little work and large pay to become the president of a university with much work and little pay, and that Grant's reputation survived his Wall-street speculations because he lost instead of won. He decried business as a pitiful thing if it is business and nothing more—if the players at this fascinating game devote all their energies and talents to the accumulation of dollars and none to the elevation of the race to a higher standard of living. The making of men, he asserted, was a far more interesting work than the making of money.

The great final object of all of Mr. Nelson's work is the making of men. In the development of men out of the raw material which nature supplies opportunity is everything. Mr. Nelson's purpose is to supply the opportunity, or in other words to provide the foothold from which the individual may lift himself up. Too many business men are selfish. They want the lion's share for themselves, and care nothing for the welfare of the men who work for them. Their sole object is to make business grind out dividends—the more the better. Excessive dividends are made either by paying labor too little or charging the customer too much for the goods. The idea of the average captain of industry is to get along by paying labor the minimum of wages and selling goods to the consumer at the maximum price. Mr. Nelson contends that there is a happy medium, and that

a reasonable dividend on the capital invested ought to satisfy every business man's desire for gain.

This unselfish captain of industry, who put business and philanthropy into the crucible and compounded a remedy for all of the industrial and social ills of the present age, has a most interesting personality. He is a small, thin, wiry man. He does not weigh more than one hundred and thirty pounds. In matters of dress he is inclined to be careless. At the age of sixty-two he is in vigorous manhood—robust, athletic, buoyant. There are few streaks of white in his thick, sandy hair. The symmetry of his features is not marred by the crow's feet of time. He works eighteen hours a day—sleeps six. He is busy every waking moment of his life. When he leaves his office he forgets business. The remainder of his time is spent in the cultivation of flowers, recreation, reading, writing essays and lectures and planning for the enlargement of his philanthropies. He espouses no religious creed—subscribes to the doctrines of no political party. He is independent in everything. He lectures in churches of all denominations. He believes in the single-tax theory, but did not inherit his ideas from Henry George. He was an investigator in that field of political science before *Progress and Poverty* was written. He believes in coöperation to a limited extent, such as we see it practiced in his business, but does not accept the socialist theory of common ownership of all property. He is always democratic—in business and in the every-day walks of life. He will shake the hand of a tramp as heartily as that of a business associate. He knows every child in Leclaire—and there is no race suicide there—and thousands of children in the St. Louis Ghetto know him as their friend and benefactor.

Business, as it is now conducted, is a game of profit and little else. The question of whether it is right to tax the traffic all it will bear is seldom asked. In the wild scramble for gain everything else is

overlooked. It was developed by Attorney-General Hadley of Missouri, during the Standard Oil inquiry, that some branches of that trust pay annual dividends of six hundred per cent. Competition has been stifled, and then the trade is taxed all it will stand to grind out dividends—to help build up great fortunes. Crushing out a competitor by fair means or foul is considered the acme of business shrewdness. One business man gloats over another's misfortune when he can force his rival into bankruptcy. Labor is paid the lowest possible wages and the customer charged the highest price to increase the earning capacity of the capital invested. The average business man worships but one idol—money. Perhaps it never entered his mind that business can be made the instrument for the development of better men and women. Having risen himself possibly from obscurity and poverty to prominence and riches, he cares little for the welfare of those he out-distanced in the race for fortune. He does not consider that he owes them even a remote obligation. Get money is the slogan of the twentieth-century business world—get it honestly if you can, but dishonestly if you must, but by all means, get money. It means power and prominence. Bribe public officials, loot insurance funds belonging to people who have stinted themselves to pay for the protection of widows and orphans, poison the functions of government with corruption and endanger the very existence of our free institutions—all that is good business if it pays big dividends. Four years ago an enterprising newspaper reporter placed in the hands of an honest prosecutor the proof that millionaire business men had bribed a score of public officials to secure valuable franchises. That was the starting-point of the greatest wave of political reform the country has ever witnessed. While the men who were actually caught in the nefarious bribery transaction in St. Louis were being tried for their crimes two millionaire Sunday-school superin-

tendents, who were high officials in a company that had profited enormously by the purchase of corrupt franchises, engineered a deal that invalidated millions in judgments the courts had rendered against the public-service corporation. Depriving thousands of maimed men, women and children of what they were legally and rightfully entitled to was called a stroke of business genius. It made millions for the Sunday-school superintendents. But was it right? Is n't there something radically wrong with the public conscience when business transactions that take the bread and butter out of the mouths of hungry widows and orphans are sanctioned? Is n't it about time for business reform? Was not Mr. Nelson right when he said that our business methods need to undergo a regeneration? The stigma of everlasting disgrace rests upon the brow of every man who has been caught giving or taking bribes. Is cheating or robbing an individual in a business deal any different in principle from plundering the public? It has not been the small-salaried state and municipal assemblymen who were mainly responsible for the political corruption that shocked the nation. The worst offenders were rich business men. They took the initiative. They were the Satans who took the Savior into the mountains and offered him kingdoms for his vote. What they did when they bribed public officials they are doing every day in business in a little different manner. Six hundred per cent. dividends have made billionaires. But do the owners of these great fortunes, made by questionable business methods, know anything of unalloyed happiness which six per cent., simple life and honest dealing have given Mr. Nelson?

Mr. Nelson is a good business man. He is a wise philanthropist. He has found that business and philanthropy mix well. He has made a success of both. Would not the general standard of our citizenship be improved if every business man practiced the principles

so clearly laid down by Mr. Nelson? There is just enough coöperation in his plan to provide plenty for all, and not enough to deprive the individual of the ambition to do great things. Sixteen years' test has proven the Nelson plan sane and safe.

Would it not be interesting if a thousand of our richest citizens turned their attention, as Mr. Nelson has done, to making men instead of piling up money they do not need? Unfortunately the few very rich men who have given large sums of money to the public are not above suspicion of being prompted by selfish motives. So far as I have been able to determine from long observation of Mr. Nelson and his work he is entirely unselfish. He is sincere in his demand for business reform. His controlling motive is to do good and make people happy. He has demonstrated that business can be made serve the purposes of rational living.

The "muck-rakers" have kept us busy reading their exposures of the evils that have crept into business and politics. The cry for reform has spread like a mighty tidal wave over the entire country. Our political reformers have accomplished much in the last few years to clear up the corruption that has hung like a pall over our public institutions, but no one has even suggested a feasible plan of business reform. The nearest approach to a scheme for changing existing conditions was made by President Roosevelt, who, taking cognizance of the baneful influence of enormous fortunes, declared that the time will come when we shall have to consider a progressive tax to prohibit the owner of great sums of money from handing more than a certain amount of it to any one individual. The President's plan would dissolve the great fortune only after it had been piled up; Mr. Nelson's system of sharing profits would prevent the accumulation of unwieldy and dangerous fortunes, thereby preventing the train of evils that follow in their path. Mr. Nelson has

pointed out the way for business reform. He has succeeded so admirably in his undertaking; he has worked along the lines of such genuine humanity, and extended his helping hand so far, that when the impartial historian comes to write the beautiful story of a nation's philanthropy, he will rank the broad-minded,

sympathetic Norwegian as one of the greatest—if not the greatest—practical philanthropists of his time. This apostle of freedom, right-living, sound business methods, and simple, every-day honesty between man and man, deserves a niche high up among the benefactors of the race.

St. Louis, Mo. GEORGE W. EADS.

THE ZEIT-GEIST AND THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION.

BY REV. WILLIAM R. BUSHBY, LL.M.

A WIDESPREAD unsettlement exists regarding the basic facts, the cardinal truths of the Christian religion, and as Dr. van Dyke says (*Age of Doubt*, p. 7), "this unsettlement takes the form of uncertainty rather than of denial, of unbelief rather than of disbelief, of general skepticism rather than of specific infidelity."

There is an effort to explain by terms of the finite the acts of the Infinite; to account for all manifestations of the supernatural by means of the limitations which we profess to understand of natural causes and their effects; to put strange constructions upon words; to pervert old established doctrine; to make scripture a matter of private interpretation; and especially to despise the authority of the Church.

"Religion," according to certain objectors, "dwells in a realm of unreality. All the propositions, theories, doctrines, to be found among all religions belong to the house of dreams, imagination, emotions, desires, none of which set foot upon the hard crust of solid earth, and which therefore can yield no solid basis of fact. The whole realm," it is said, "lies outside the range of scientific inquiry, and therefore in such a realm no fact capable of leading to any trustworthy or testable truth can be reached."

But we cannot deny that there are

phenomena which are just as true and real as any which are capable of demonstration through our five senses. We may not be able, as has been said, to weigh these phenomena as gold and silver are weighed, or to measure them by the ordinary instruments of precision, but they exist nevertheless, and the man or woman who would deny their existence is as much "a dogmatist as the most exclusive theologian," and as much of an "obscurantist as the greatest ecclesiastical infallibilist."

There is probably not a thinking man or woman who has not met in his or her experience with certain facts which were closely allied to the mysterious and which could not be accounted for or explained by any known hypothesis. It is true that such facts present a difficulty—the drawing of a distinct and well-defined line between what is understood and what is mysterious—but because we cannot thoroughly explain such facts or measure them according to some known physical standard we should not put them aside as unreal and visionary, and therefore impossible.

It is said that the "scientific spirit of the present day demands higher evidence for religious truth than has been wont to satisfy the men of past times, and subjects all evidence to a more rigorous scrutiny than ever before."

It is not part of the plan at this time to discuss the kind of evidence demanded, but there is a vague insistence upon something which can be demonstrated. Do we realize that neither moral nor historical truth admits of demonstration?

It is not with any intention to exhaustively handle the subject, because that has been ably done by others, nor do we lay claim to any originality in this presentation of the case, but we feel very much like the common soldier who hears the flag of his country abused. He cannot refrain from protesting, and although he may not be of very much account in the great army of which he is so small a part, yet he has the satisfaction of knowing that *he* did what he was able in defense of what he considered as dear to him as life itself.

Every believer in Christ should have the courage of his convictions and be able to give a reason for his faith, not lukewarmly, but positively. We are apt to fall down before we are hit. We hoist the white flag before the first attack is made upon us. Let us take courage. God still lives, and notwithstanding the rationalists and agnostics to the contrary, Jesus Christ is on the throne of the universe and things cannot go very far wrong.

But there is abroad an unrest, an agitation, a searching for something of which we must take cognizance.

As indicating one phase of the agitation, a French professor, M. Amant Joseph Fabre, who, if he is reported correctly, has recently stated that "he believes in a Christianity that is neither Catholic nor Protestant, which is free from ecclesiasticism and superstition." He cherishes the hope that "coming generations will arrive at a Christianity eminently progressive, at all points in accord with science and the human conscience, and equaling the highest points of teaching and inspiration which have been reached by the great religions on which humanity has hitherto relied for safe guidance." Now we may ask, what does all this mean? What are the great re-

ligions on which humanity has hitherto relied for safe guidance? He would get back to the practices of the Primitive Church, so he says, which means, we may interpret, that he strives for a New Testament Churchmanship, but if he does he will still find that dogmas and definitions and practices and institutions and sacraments are an essential part of that Apostolic Brotherhood.

This cry of "Back to Christ" is sounded in various tones. It comes to us from those who see in the many divisions into which Christianity is divided a cause for alarm; it comes to us from those whose desire is to break with the traditional faith and to find something novel; it comes to us from those who would restore the so-called true spirit of brotherhood for which they claim Christ stood; it comes to us from those who use it to bolster up some cherished man-made "ism."

The fact that there still exists to-day among us that religion which Christ instituted is due under God's direction to the fostering care of the Holy Church founded by the Great Teacher, and there are many to-day of those who profess and call themselves Christians who are fully imbued with the spirit of that Primitive Church, and find full soul satisfaction in its doctrine, discipline and worship.

As the basis for our faith we turn to those scriptures which contain the teachings of the Founder and the leaders of the Primitive Church.

In the Gospels we have the record of the very founder of Christianity, Jesus Christ Himself. These Gospels were written by human authors and they set before us a Person of great dignity and wisdom, "absolutely free from fault and possessing all human and divine virtues," and to present Him in this manner by a succession of scenes and actions covering the entire range of human life so that His life from the Manger to the Cross should be one consistent harmonious whole is a work so stupendous that no writer had ever before been found to attempt it in

any writing of which we have any knowledge. But that *four* such writers should undertake to present to our view the same Person and to depict His character by the self-same method by setting out his very words and acts and to delineate the scenes and actions in orderly sequence with such marvelous success that we behold the same consistent and harmonious character in each description is certainly outside the limits of human ingenuity, and as it has been most truly said, "it is easier to believe the one original to have existed as the common source of the likeness than that the likeness should exist without the original." That Christ, the unquestionable founder of the Christian religion, was really just such a person as the records describe Him may be concluded from the records themselves by whomsoever written. It is the evidence presented in these records we are asked to believe, and unless we demand a greater degree of evidence than is sufficient to satisfy all legal requirements in matters of everyday life we cannot impeach the testimony presented in the sacred narrative.

Faith is not simply blind credulity, but it is a process of reasoning which reaches a conclusion through natural induction from what seem to the believer to be well-attested facts.

In this matter of belief in the Gospel narrative we do not think that anything has been taken for granted. We have considered the Gospel story with what has been offered as a substitute and we have staked our highest welfare, present and future, temporal and eternal, upon these issues of faith, after carefully weighing them in the balance of Reason.

Christianity exists—that is evident; and to account for Christianity apart from the personality of Jesus Christ is to conceive of a machine without a maker; of a house without a builder; a foundation without a founder; and we can have no conception of this maker, this builder, this founder outside of the sacred narrative in which we find Jesus Christ, the God-man, portrayed. Christianity leads

to the Book, and the Book points to Christ, not a mere "teacher from God," but God in man made manifest. The Christ of the Gospels is neither, as has been said, a "Greek myth," nor yet by others a "Hebrew legend," but He is a real personality, the true revelation of God, yea "Very God of Very God."

Quite a considerable amount of so-called independent investigation has taken place, but unfortunately such investigations are not impartial; there is always a "bias on one side or another." When a person sets out to make an original investigation, he is likely to carry to his work certain prejudices against that which is old. These independent investigators are influenced by a great many things—the love of novelty, the love of singularity, the hankering after the merit of originality, the ambition to be considered an independent thinker, the desire for notoriety, the notion that in diverging from common ways of thinking, a claim to intellectual superiority to other people is thereby established. Motives of this kind operate to produce a very powerful disturbing effect and to exert an influence adverse to the old, and favorable to all kinds of divergencies from it. Like the Athenians of old they spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. In the consideration of any subject we are led away many times by the thoughts of others; we become in a great measure merely echoes; a chance acquaintance, a stray book, a magazine article, and then—why, the old faith is cast overboard; the chart is lost; and we drift with the current, we know not where and we do not seem to care.

But must we necessarily slip our moorings and drift? Is there no standard of truth in matters of such vital importance?

We think there is. There has been a pivotal fact in the history of the world from which all events seem to radiate. What is that great fact? The universal answer is the birth of Jesus Christ, and the foundation of His Church.

When the "fullness of the time" had

come there came into this world of ours a being Who was to exert a great effect upon the affairs of men. This is not a religious dogma, but an historical fact in which to-day all reasonable men acquiesce. The country in which Jesus was born was not great; the age in which He lived was not—outside of His own birth—particularly noted; there were no special circumstances attending His birth which would indicate that the Babe of Bethlehem would develop in wisdom and stature more than any other children; and yet He caused a great change to take place in the manners and customs of the world, and His teaching is still far in advance of the greatest thoughts, the greatest wisdom, the greatest culture of this present twentieth century. These are facts and they must be accounted for. There must have been something in the little Babe of Bethlehem profoundly different from others to have produced in the world such an effect, an effect which is not a matter of faith, but of sight.

And the Creeds of Christendom alone account for the great change which the birth of Jesus produced.

We say that the Creeds of Christendom alone account for all of this. We mean that to no other facts than those set forth in the Creeds can we attribute the changes which have taken place in the moral, social and political world as it existed 1,900 years ago and as that world exists to-day.

"Creeds do not precede Faith. They presuppose it." The Creeds, therefore, simply mark out the great truths which the Church believes are taught in the Holy Scriptures, and these Creeds as we have them to-day have stood the test of time and criticism, and embody the results of the great doctrinal controversies which were settled by the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), hundreds of years ago, and it is to these statements of the whole body of the Church we turn for enlightenment on all matters of doctrine.

It is in these Creeds we learn that

Christ was both God and man in one single personality. "*Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, Natus ex Maria Virgine.*" And indeed it is clear that were it otherwise His sufferings and death would not avail for our redemption. A merely human person could not suffice to make the atonement of any value, and on the other hand a human nature was needed in order that physical suffering and physical death might be possible.

What Jesus of Nazareth was as a person and as a teacher has ever been considered a standing proof that He was indeed the "Sent of God." He was the manifestation of Divine love.

It is true that there are those who would account for the life and character of Jesus as presented to us in the New Testament as "due to the imagination of the Evangelists under whose hands a variety of floating legends and myths respecting a person claiming to be the Messiah grew and took form as the Gospels." But such a thing is a physical impossibility, as we have shown. There are others who claim that "while the Gospels present Christ's life and teaching to a considerable extent as they really were, yet He was formed to that life and teaching simply by His own natural character and the influences of His social condition." The absurdity of this is self-apparent.

It is only necessary to carefully survey the circumstances in which Christ appeared, and to open our minds fully to all that He was and taught in order to see how insufficient are such methods of accounting for a character and a life so unique.

The life of Jesus shines out from the pages of the Gospel and any one can tell by simply looking at that story that it is genuine and not an invention. We might as well say that the sun was invented and set blazing in the firmament by four men who knew nothing about light and heat as to say that Matthew, Mark, Luke and John invented that life of Jesus Christ and set it up for the whole world to gaze

upon. No, the life of Jesus Christ as given us in the Gospels stands forth clearly and vividly with all the transparency of truth, in every word which describes that life from Bethlehem to Calvary.

"Christianity has always rested and will rest always upon the historic facts of Scripture—above all upon the life of Christ." Now the Creeds have simply embodied in their teaching the words of Scripture, and when we say that Jesus Christ was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary" we say no more, no less, than Scripture sets forth, and we cannot doubt the Virgin Birth as taught in the Creeds without doubting the Scripture account of that birth, and thereby setting aside the whole record.

"The Incarnation of the Son of God, the conjunction of the Divine and the Human, is the mystery or mysteries, the wonder of heaven and earth, each alike astonished at the union of both, the one everlasting miracle of divine power and love."

The Incarnation is the basis of all Christian dogma, and the Virgin Birth cannot be separated from that fact without doing violence to the sacred narrative and to the teaching of the early Fathers of the Church respecting this great doctrine. They stand or fall together, and upon whether they stand or fall depends the stability of the Christian religion.

"Truth is mighty and must prevail," and that the religion of the Nazarene stands to-day is because its rock-bed foundation was *Truth*.

The Incarnation while it is as stated a great mystery, yet to a certain extent it was only the logical outcome of the fiat of God when He said: "Let us make man in our own image." Man came and for years struggled and waited for a more perfect revelation of the image. Man realized that at his best he was far from being such a creature as God intended he should be, there was a yearning after a pattern which would present the perfect ideal of personality and that came

to pass when God became Incarnate, when the Word was made Flesh.

The believer has this satisfaction, that above the Babel of doubt and confusion he can see the need of the Incarnation and he can place absolute confidence in the historical reality of the Virgin Birth, for in faith in these facts he finds the only true solution of the problems of life.

We recognize that we are truly treading upon Holy Ground when we attempt even most reverently to give expression to our belief in that much of the mystery which God has been pleased to reveal to us. What does the Gospel tell us?

St. Matthew says (R. V., I., 22, 23, 24, 25): "Now all this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, Behold the virgin shall be with child and shall bring forth a son and they shall call his name Immanuel which is, being interpreted, God with us. And Joseph arose from his sleep and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him and took unto him his wife: *And knew her not till she had brought forth a son; and he called his name Jesus.*"

The passage quoted by St. Matthew is found, as is well known, in Isaiah (VII., 14) and there had been a partial fulfillment of the prophecy near the time when it was uttered. The wicked king Ahaz alarmed at a threatened invasion of Judea was about to apply to the Assyrians for assistance. Isaiah was sent to him by the Lord to command him to put his trust in God alone for deliverance and to ask of God a sign. Ahaz refused and God volunteered a sign by the prophet Isaiah, namely, that the young wife of Isaiah should bear a son and that before the child should know to refuse the evil and choose the good, *i. e.*, before he should come to years of discretion, the hostile kings whom Ahaz feared should both perish. But the prophecy of Isaiah was couched in language the literal fulfillment of which could and did happen only in the Incarnation of the Eternal Son of God.

The Son of God was not incarnate simply that Isaiah should be made a true prophet, but that by the prophecy, which had been made 740 years before agreeing with the event, men should believe that Jesus was sent from God.

It is true that the Hebrew word "Almah" which means "Virgin" has other meanings besides that of an unmarried woman who has preserved the purity of her body, but in the record of our Lord's birth it can only mean that a "maiden should without the natural agency of any human father whatever become the mother of One who was at once the Babe of her bosom and the God of her immortality." (Maclear, III., 99.)

Bishop Satterlee (*New Testament Churchmanship*, p. 40) says, "during the period of His youth and early manhood, our Lord has set an example of filial duty to every child of human parents. Indeed all through the years that followed His visit to Jerusalem when He was twelve years of age we read that He went down to Nazareth and was subject unto them, and even up to the time when at the age of thirty He began His public ministry He appears to have been an inmate of that home at Nazareth; but where in the whole Gospels do we find Him revealing, by a single word, the ordinary human consciousness of being the son of a human parent?"

After the narrative given us in the Gospels of the Nativity there is nothing more said regarding the miraculous birth of Jesus; there was evidently no reason why it should be reiterated. The Church has firmly held from the beginning of its existence to the belief that Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary as set forth in these same Scriptures, which belief has been embodied in the Creeds which have become the symbols of the Faith of Christendom.

Keim in his *Jesus of Nazara* (II., p. 41), referring to the genealogies, says "they could only have been devised by their original authors in the belief that

Jesus was Joseph's son," and from this fact he attempts to discredit the story of the Miraculous Conception; but this argument is well answered by E. Griffith Jones in his *The Ascent Through Christ*, (pp. 256 *et seq.*), where also the relation between the doctrine of the Incarnation and the fact of the Virgin Birth is treated most thoroughly and convincingly to show that the birth of Christ should have taken place in the way the Scriptures record it and in no other.

As soon as we deny the physical fact of the Virgin Birth we nullify the truth for which it stands, or else we try to devise a garbled theory of the Incarnation which is far from satisfying the demands of either our minds or our hearts, whereas, on the other hand, as soon as we accept the fact of the Miraculous Conception the Incarnation has its full meaning—the "Word became Flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His glory—the glory of the only-begotten of the Father full of grace and truth."

Why, let us ask, should there be such a strong desire to put a strange and unusual construction upon the very words of the Scripture? If Jesus, the Son of Mary, was simply of the seed of Abraham through Joseph, the Husband of Mary, why was the Apostle particular in stating that Joseph as soon as he perceived Mary's condition was minded to put her away privily and not to make a public example of her. This fact is stated by St. Matthew with careful directness, and the words must be taken as meaning what they imply, and nothing else.

Joseph knew his espoused wife, the Blessed Virgin, to be a pious and pure maiden, and was perplexed. She had been absent on a visit to her cousin Elizabeth for three months and it was not until her return that Joseph noticed her condition and was minded to divorce her privately. But in the midst of his thought he has a dream in which the angel of the Lord appeared unto him and he is told to "Fear not to take Mary unto him as wife, for," said the angel, "that which is

conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost." This is certainly not an ambiguous statement.

If we suggest then that the Blessed Virgin Mary was physically with child through coition with Joseph her espoused husband, and that the only miracle was the entrance of God by means of the Holy Spirit into the "cup of clay," we ignore the positive statements of the Evangelists; we discredit the sincerity of Joseph's thoughts and actions; and we cast a doubt, not only upon the whole story of the Nativity, but upon the Atonement as well.

Some people say: "How much simpler your Christianity would be if you were to leave all miracles out of your Creed." These persons are willing to admit that Jesus was a good man. They even go further and say He was the best Man that ever lived, the pattern and example of humanity for all time. "But," they say, "do n't ask us to believe that He was God—that He was born of a Virgin through the intervention of a so-called Holy Spirit."

But stop! If Jesus was only a man then He could not be called a good man, because He claimed to be that which He was not.

As Dr. George P. Fisher says, "the supernatural claims of Jesus are identified with the excellence of His character. Both stand or fall together." We are justified in putting our trust in Him on account of His goodness which surpasses all that we could conceive. We know that one whose character was so irreproachable could not be deceived, and His testimony concerning Himself is worthy of all credence. "To this end," He said, "was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. He that is of the truth heareth my voice." This is His testimony respecting Himself. He was the Truth. It was for it He lived, and for it He suffered and died, and that falsehood had any share whatever in His Character would be contrary to all that is reasonable in law or in morals.

Whenever these matters are discussed we are met with the question: "Is not this a progressive age, are not the times peculiar, are not certain modifications of your Creeds needed in order to keep abreast of advancing civilization, the advanced thought and the progressive culture of the times?" We may make bold to answer that this is assuredly a progressive age and we glory in its advanced thought and culture and in everything which the age has produced for the betterment of the race and for the promotion of man's highest welfare.

But there is a limit to this epidemic of change. Some things remain unchanged. Human nature is still the same to-day as it ever has been. The heart of man is still selfish and sinful—it is still at enmity against God, and this same human nature can be satisfied to-day in no other way than by the old Gospel which the Apostles and the early Fathers of the Church preached.

That the enemies of the Christian faith should misrepresent and pervert its teachings and attempt to discredit the fundamental truths upon which that faith is based and to undermine its influence in every conceivable manner is not strange, and if this open hostility were all it would be reason for congratulation, but unfortunately there are traitors in the very household, and the faith has been attacked many times by those who were its professed friends and pledged to its defense. These friends (?) under the plea of liberality and broadmindedness have tried to rob the faith of all that is dear to the hearts of the believers. They hold out for our acceptance a stone instead of bread, a corpse instead of life, a mess of pottage for a birthright; and when we consider what they would offer us for the "faith once delivered to the Saints," we are fain to cry out as did Mary at the Sepulcher, "They have taken away my Lord."

If we are to have a religion worth anything at all we must not take from it one jot or one tittle of all that is supernatural

or miraculous in its origin and its development, because religion is the tie which binds men to God, and it must therefore present to men something to show its divine origin—there must necessarily be in it elements above and beyond the limitations of earth.

But why speak of the natural and supernatural in regard to a matter in which we believe that God has given to man a positive revelation? Even without this revelation can the most learned explain for us the distinction between the natural and the supernatural? We may be able to find an academic definition of the two words, but these definitions are again limited by our meager knowledge.

Let us cease trying to measure eternal things with a yard-stick.

Let us cease trying to deceive ourselves into thinking that we can live on husks. Let us be as honest in these spiritual matters as we are or try to be in the temporal affairs of life. Let not the barriers of our spiritual life and de-

velopment be of our own making. As rational beings we cannot help but believe in God, and if we believe in God let us also believe in Jesus Christ; and if we believe in Jesus Christ, let us believe in the record of His condescension in becoming man for us and for our salvation. All Holy Scripture has been written for our learning and there is only one thing open to us—that is to accept the record of this life of God on earth as given us by God's grace in the Gospels, and like Thomas, the Doubter, to appropriate this same Jesus as our Lord and our God. Then we need no alternatives, no compromises, but with belief in the Virgin Birth will go belief in the Virgin life, and in the calm possession of a faith which has been handed down to us from the days of the Apostles we may feel secure, not only in our present life, but in that life to come when we shall see not through a glass darkly, but face to face.

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Washington, D. C.

CONCERNING THOSE WHO WORK.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

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ONE OF the most interesting compilations to the student of political economy in its broadest sense and most liberal application, is the collection issued by the German Department of Labor, of the replies of forty-six of the most populous, and, industrially, the most important cities in the Empire, as to the ways and means taken by them to provide work in the winter months for the unemployed workmen and—in a few cases—women.

This collection, which grew out of the realization of the increasing pressure of the socialistic problems involved in the spectacle of so and so many thousands of respectable men thrown out of work

every year through no fault of their own was systematically begun in 1903.

It was obtained by addressing a series of tabulated questions to the Mayors and Councillors of fifty-seven cities of the Empire, and by the detailed replies of the said forty-six of that number; the remaining eleven having either never yet undertaken "Necessity-Employment," as it is called in the German language, or having, like the town of Solingen, long since done away with the need of it by the sensible and generous administration of the managers of its important steel works.

Among the forty-six cities are Aix-la-Chapelle, Barmen, Breslau, Charlotten-

burg, Frankfort, Cologne, Darmstadt, Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, Strassbourg, and Worms, which represent either specific industries, as Barmen and Cologne; or various industries characteristic of and in a measure confined to their part of Germany, as Leipzig and Breslau; or commercial enterprises of different kinds, as Frankfort, the banking and brokerage center, and Hamburg, the shipping center.

The formula submitted to the fifty-seven Mayors was as follows:

1. In what year did you last organize "Necessity-Employment"?

2. Of what nature was the employment? (i. e., whether masonry in public buildings, digging in public grounds, office-work, etc., etc.)

3. What were the conditions under which you admitted workmen to the "Necessity-Employment"?

(a) Did you admit *only* married men and women, or those who had others to support?

(b) From what age upward?

(c) Did you stipulate that they must be citizens of your town, or at least resident there?

(d) Did you admit persons who were already receiving a measure of support from the poor fund?

4. Did you pay for the work by the day, or did you also pay by the piece?

5. How many hours per day did you call a day's work?

6. Did the city provide the food for the workers, wholly or partially? If partially, was it breakfast and luncheon? And was either, or were both entirely free, or did the workmen pay a trifle?

7. What were the entire expenses of the city during the year named?

To these questions the answers were, in the main, alike; but in the particulars in which they differed, the difference was very marked.

Aix-la-Chapelle, replying for the winter of 1902-1903, stipulates that, as a rule, only men who have lived in the town for

two years shall be employed; a stipulation that would appear to defeat the very end and aim of "Necessity-Employment," since just the men who have lived the shortest time in a town are the men most likely to be in sudden need of work. Aix furthermore adds to its severity by decreeing that the payment of the wages take place only once a week. That is, a man begins, say, on Wednesday morning, and the wages are paid Saturday afternoon. In the meantime what are his starving family, what is he, himself, to do for food until Saturday night? Aix also precludes the young workman—which is, perhaps, not a bad idea—unless he lives with his parents: that is, a young man under twenty, who contributes to the support of the family, may be employed, but a boy of sixteen, save under very exceptional circumstances, may not apply for work. The preference is given to the old and enfeebled workmen, who are already in receipt of a measure of assistance from the public funds.

The work itself consisted in that winter, 1902-1903, of sawing, splitting and piling wood in the city's wood-yards.

The city of Cologne differs from Aix-la-Chapelle in the kind of labor offered, which is stone-breaking, and in the fact that only members of the *German Empire*, and only subscribers to *Cologne's Old-Age-Pension-Society* shall be received as applicants for "Necessity-Employment"! Stipulations which excite one's risibles, but which are not quite so absurd as they at first appear, since almost every German town has its Old-Age-Pension-Society, which is a kind of Savings Bank for the Poor. But Cologne is evidently bent upon making it as difficult as possible for a man to obtain the work, and all the conditions accompanying it are marked by a spirit of pettiness and grudging hardness not flattering to the rich, Rhine-swept town. After supporters of families, who come first, and after men who have no homes and no relations, who come next, if superfluous work remains, young persons who have

"completed their sixteenth year" may have it given them to do, if they have lived "at least one year in Cologne"! As just the young man or boy who had come from a distance would be the workman most likely to be in need,—the farmer's boy who had come from the province, the young clerk who had not yet secured a position—the stipulation amounts to a prohibition.

But Cologne goes further: it prescribes that even the "supporter of a family" who applies for work shall be able to show, first, a paper testifying to the fact that he is a workman; secondly, the receipt for his subscription to the just-mentioned Old-Age-Pension-Society; thirdly, a paper setting forth the date of his dismissal by his former employer; fourthly, a certificate—distinct from the other!—testifying to the exact date on which he paid the last subscription to the said Old-Age-Pension-Society!

These eminently German, and in the connection eminently ridiculous pedantries, show better than volumes of explanation could how far, how very far, behind in the refinements of education, in the *humane instincts*, is the middle-class German citizen; how impervious to appreciation of the complexities of modern civilization, which constantly cause distress and bitter need to thousands of men and women every winter of their lives. These human brothers and sisters of the stout wine-and-beer-drinking, well-fed, selfish, material shop-keepers and hotel-keepers of the Cologne *bourgeoisie*, who may never have had ten pfennig over their daily needs in all their lives; to whom a "karte" in the Old-Age-Pension-Society, with all its abundant initial expenses and annual dues, would be as unattainable as a banking-account. How rarely would a man who had all such financial details and all the appurtenances of a life of comfort, in such extreme apple-pie order, be in desperate need of work! And "Necessity" work is just for those who have *not* all those pedantries vouched for.

Cologne furthermore stipulates that a man, having gone through all the just-mentioned preliminaries in order merely to be enrolled as seeking work—and fancy a hungry, heart-sick, middle-aged, self-respecting mechanic being tortured with such details—must then, in case the noble city of Cologne *permits* him to work, spend *three days* in so-called "lessons" in the art of breaking stones! A stonemason, let us say, through misfortune and illness, or through any other of the hundred accidents that may throw such a man out of employment, after tramping about, unable to pay carfare and refused by one insolent, domineering petty-official after another, finally is forced to apply at the "Necessity-Labor-Bureau," and having satisfied those equally domineering and more insolent petty-officials in all the aforesaid ramifications, is set down to "lessons in stone-breaking"!

Is it a wonder that Germany, from north to south, is one seething hot-bed of ultra-Socialism; that the heart of the German workman burns to assert its manhood, its part in the land, the air and the fruits of the earth?

But, as if to make the humiliation more galling, no "notice" of dismissal from the work is allowed; that is, the munificent city of Cologne reserves to itself the right to cast a man out, without a reason given, without appeal, and without a penny of pay over the day, or portion of a day, when, perchance, a brutal overseer chooses to make it impossible for him to remain. Also, lest an intelligent, quick or skilful man should get a little "ahead," Cologne stipulates that no workman *may* earn more than 87½ cents a day. In other words, in Cologne the workman in the "Necessity-Employment" department *may not* earn as much as he *can*.

The labor is called day-labor, and—in rare cases—piece-work; but the pay, as before mentioned, is doled out once a week, with the express stipulation that "no advance" of any portion of the weekly wage will, under any circumstances, be made—"Vorschuss wird nicht gewährt."

A glance at the regulations in the city of Darmstadt reveals the general drift of the conditions to be the same as in Cologne, but the kind of work offered embraces a larger number of occupations. These are chiefly digging canals, laying walls for city buildings, and again stone-breaking. The wages vary from the highest, about $5\frac{1}{4}$ cents, to the lowest, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, per hour. That is, a man in Darmstadt, if he works eight full hours a day, can earn, at the utmost, 46 cents a day. Multiply this by six days, and he earns about \$2.76 per week. On this sum a family of four, sometimes, in prolific Germany, of six, must exist during the months of November, December, January, February and March. It is horrible.

Darmstadt also requires the stone-breaking workers to pay for the "*Schutz-Brillen*," or spectacles for the protection of the eyes, at the rate of about 11 cents per pair; so, if a man earns, say the largest of the above-mentioned sums per hour, he has to work nearly two hours the first day for nothing. The city of Darmstadt therefore "makes" out of every stone-breaker in the "Necessity-Employment" two hours of his and his family's body and soul hunger, during the bitter winter months.

Darmstadt, also, like Cologne, pays the wages weekly.

The only city, so far as careful scrutiny of this Report of the Statistical Bureau of the German Empire shows, which appears to recognize the possibility of humane consideration in the treatment of applicants for "Necessity-Employment," is Frankfort. In that great commercial center the Mayor and his Councillors during many sessions and many discussions, evidently, honestly and honorably endeavored to prepare a valuable opportunity for the laborer, and to do so in a manner consistent with Frankfort's enormous prosperity. It pays daily; it offers him real work,—not only the convict's stone-breaking, or the school-boy's wood-sawing; he is to plant trees in the public

parks, help in the laying of the walls of public buildings, and even office-work is under consideration. Also, if a man by transgressing a rule or neglecting a regulation, should be dismissed, he is given another chance in that he is allowed to work in the Alms-Houses.

Frankfort especially recommends separation of the "Necessity-Laborer" from the alms-receiver, and suggests that the method should be accentuated in every city.

Thirty-nine cities give employment in road-making, tree-planting, canal-digging, water-pipe-laying, gravel-hauling and strewing, and snow-shovelling; twenty-five, in stone-breaking; one, in street-paving; five, in masonry; eleven, in street-sweeping and ice-breaking; two, in forestry work,—that is, tree-planting and watering, in public grounds; three, in wood-sawing and splitting; one, in braiding mats; and one, in office-work.

The city which has tried office-work—Stuttgart—expresses itself as pleased with the experiment, and points out that it has the double merit of giving many a deserving young man a chance to tide over a hard time, and of costing the city nothing in materials or tools.

One or two facts in regard to the variation in wages are incidentally mentioned in the Report, namely, that in Berlin, during the ten years of 1885 to 1895, the average wage of a stone-mason moved from 20 pfennig, or about $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents, to 25 pfennig, or about $4\frac{1}{4}$ cents, per hour; but, unhappily, the higher wage applies to 1885, so that the average in Berlin has sunk during those ten years. The highest wage ever paid was 96 pfennig, or not quite 25 cents, per hour.

Another work, interesting to the student of methods for the welfare of the working classes, is a pamphlet recently published by the Commissioners acting in the name of the Organization for the Benefit of Laborers, called *An Investigation into the System of Wages in the Iron Industry of the German Portions of South-West Luxembourg*; which the author

divides into the Iron-Mining Works of Lorraine, and the Machine-Works and Small-Iron-Manufactories of Alsatia. In his introduction, which sounds something like a warning, the author, Herr Otto Bossmann, quoting from Professor Schmoller, reminds Germans of the political-economic axiom, that production is based upon need, and need upon national and international intercourse; and that the last hour of Germany's prosperity in the iron industries would have sounded the moment her demand for arms, engines for commercial and war-ships, motors and the innumerable tools and forms of apparatus in daily and yearly use, ceased or diminished in perceptible degree. He institutes a comparison, in the need of iron in some form or other, of the inhabitants of Germany, per head, which shows the following rapid increase in the use of that ore since 1881, and the sudden and significant stoppage in the year 1901.

From 1861 to 1864 the consumption was at the rate of 25.2 kilo. to every individual German; in 1871 it was 33 kilo.; in 1890, 81.7 kilo.; in 1895, 105.1 kilo.; in 1900, 131.7 kilo.; but in 1901 it fell to 90.3 kilo.; and in 1902, to 76.6 kilo.; while in 1903 it rose again to 98.1 kilo. per head.

The cause of this amazing stoppage in the use of iron in the German Empire, and the complexities and uncertainties which, the author considers, are likely to beset it henceforth, have in the nature of the case altered the conditions of the miner and workman in manufactories; altered the demands which he feels himself entitled to make; altered the measure of independent action into which he finds himself forced by his own enlarged sphere of responsibility, and by the invitations which he receives to join the Socialistic unions growing up with amazing rapidity in every portion of the Empire.

Herr Bossmann lays strong emphasis on the fact, too often lost sight of by employés, that the price for which a manufacture is sold, and its value in exchange,

is not fixed by the cost of producing it, but by the quantity in which it has to be produced. In other words, the value of manufactures does not depend upon the length of time or the amount of labor expended upon them, but on the proper distribution of the labor.

The whole pamphlet, which is one of three compiled under the supervision of Professor Schmoller, Professor Francke, and other men of note, is full of striking comments and is eminently enlightening as to the iron industry of Alsace and Lorraine.

It has been said that no science, if it may as yet be called a science, is so contradictory as Political Economy; and certainly it would appear as if the deeper one dives into the problems of our modern civilization, the less clear one becomes as to the relations of causes to effects. This bewilderment was felt by more than one visitor to the exhibition of *Home-Industries*, held in Berlin, in the building of the Old Academy of Sciences. Among the innumerable articles made at home, which are badly, alas! how badly paid, were several which are normally, and in two or three cases, well paid; but these are not always articles of higher value, either to middleman or to shopkeeper, nor yet such as require skilled labor. For instance, for the manufacture of cheap silk ribbons in the neighborhood of Crefeld, workmen and workwomen receive from 36 to 40 pfennig per hour; while for fine silk stuffs, by the yard, they are paid in Crefeld itself only 17 to 19 pfennig per hour. Why?

Again, the coarser qualities of under-clothing pay the workers better than the finer qualities; and the same apparent discrepancy appears in the manufacture of shoes.

In the fabrication of beautiful articles in leather, the most complicated of which require delicate skill, acquired by years of practice, men are paid, in Offenbach, the center of that industry, at the rate of 23 pfennig, or not quite 6 cents an hour.

In Saxony women and girls weave

straw hats for not quite 2½ cents per hour; for fine pearl hat-passementeries, and for hats composed entirely of chiffon, they receive not quite 3½ cents per hour.

In the manufacture of toys, however, "grinding the face of the poor" attains its height. For *twelve dozen* doll's wardrobes *the workman is paid 12 pfennig*; and it takes *one family of three to four persons, four hours and a half* to produce

one dozen. That is, for twelve of these pretty little pieces of doll's furniture from *three to four people work more than half a day, for 2½ cents!*

Is it not time that the world awoke to the miseries of civilization and ceased to drain the blood of its brothers in cruelties such as these?

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, Prussia

POLYGAMY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

AS AN accompaniment to each of the half dozen or more attempts to secure statehood for Utah, there has been some discussion upon the desirability of so amending the Federal Constitution as to give Congress power to legislate upon the subject of polygamy and kindred offenses. Owing to a conviction in the minds of many that the Mormon leaders have broken their pledges concerning the cessation of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, which pledges were made to secure Statehood and a return of the escheated church property, such an agitation has been revived.

The legislatures of New York and Iowa, one branch of the legislature of New Jersey, Democratic state conventions in Idaho, several general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, the Interdenominational Council of Women, the National Congress of Mothers, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, have each demanded that the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to give Congress power to suppress polygamy. Thousands of petitions have been sent to Washington making the same demand, and resolutions to that end have been introduced in Congress, and numerous members have proclaimed their support.

Surely such an array of public sentiment

demands a careful investigation of the question raised.

Unfortunately the Mormons, who might naturally be expected to oppose such actions, are apparently forced into acquiescence with the demands of their enemies by the fear that their opposition will be construed as an admission of bad faith when they claim to have repudiated polygamy. Furthermore, their opposition would be taken by the country as an evidence of the necessity for the Constitutional Amendment. The final disposition of the case of Senator Smoot, of course, will not solve the Mormon problem. The immediate result will only be to intensify Mormon zealots, and to convince the anti-Mormon agitators that something more is needed, and in their distress, no doubt, they will redouble their efforts to secure a constitutional amendment as the only means of avenging the wrong to their disappointed reformatory intentions.

It is time therefore that the public be given some accurate information as to the past and present extent of Mormon polygamy. Such information will disillusionize many who believe that all Mormons are polygamists, as well as those who believe that Mormon polygamic families are a matter of purely ancient history.

In order that our perspective may be made a little more perfect, it is desirable that we indulge in a little retrospection concerning Mormon polygamy. The revelation authorizing and justifying it, as the same is now published, together with further esoteric doctrines upon the same subject, was by God delivered to Joseph Smith (so it is alleged) as early as 1831. Almost immediately after, the conduct of the "Saints" became such that their neighbors accused them of having their wives in common. Later, though the revelation had not yet been made public, the charge was changed to polygamy, and was one among many causes which led to the forcible expulsions of Mormons from both Missouri and Illinois. It is now admitted that the leaders generally began secretly to practice polygamy in 1841, though the revelation was not reduced to writing until 1843, nor made public until 1852. In spite of these facts, now admitted, the Mormon leaders persistently and deliberately lied about the existence of such a doctrine or practice during all the years from 1831 until 1852, and afterwards justified their falsehoods by putting the responsibility therefor upon God. This fact casts doubt upon the sincerity of their present professions.

Polygamy never had expressed legal sanction in Utah. The practice so far as statute law was concerned was permissive only through the absence of prohibitory criminal legislation. A Territorial statute against adultery was promptly repealed by a Mormon legislature when Gentile Territorial judges, appointed by the President, construed it to cover sexual relation between men and their polygamous wives. As a matter of religion polygamy was in one sense possible to all, though it was always a necessary pre-requisite to secure the permission of proper church authorities, whose consent could be had only if the applicant's church-standing was unquestioned, as evidenced by his obedience to "counsel" and a balanced tithing account. In this

aspect polygamy was an indulgence bought by tithes and servility. To the elect few it was a matter of duty to enter polygamy, without doing which they would lose their ecclesiastical preferments here, and part of their possible spiritual exaltation in the hereafter. Thus it came to be said that at least three wives were necessary to social respectability in Utah.

Under these conditions polygamy, as an institution, enjoyed years of unmolested growth both as to numbers and influence. The first anti-polygamy law passed by Congress became operative July, 1862, but remained a dead letter upon the statute-books. The first effective anti-polygamy legislation was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of March, 1882. Under it, between 1882 and 1890, about 2,200 convictions for unlawful cohabitation were secured in the Territorial courts. Polygamy (the ceremony by which added wives were acquired) was a different offense, and owing to Mormon perjury could seldom be proven. Only a half dozen convictions were ever secured on a charge of polygamy. Unlawful cohabitation consisted of living in the habit and repute of marriage with more than one woman. This charge was more easy of proof, hence most prosecutions were under that part of the act.

The Mormon population of Utah in 1866 was estimated at 60,000. In that population the proportion of plural marriages was believed from evidence taken in that year by a committee of Congress to have been "not less" than one-third of the whole number of married males. Senator Dubois of Idaho, then delegate from that Territory, asserted in 1889 before the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives, that in his opinion one third of the adult Mormons of Idaho were living in polygamous relation. None of the Mormon representatives present at that hearing took issue with this conclusion, notwithstanding which fact, the latter estimate, at this remoteness, seems a little extravagant for 1889.

The Edmunds-Tucker act went into effect March, 1882, and for the first time made effective the anti-polygamy legislation of Congress. Under this act all persons living in polygamy were disfranchised, and eminent gentlemen from outside the Territory were appointed commissioners to conduct elections in Utah. According to their report of November 17, 1882, the effect of the disfranchisement of polygamists was to exclude from the registration list about 12,000 voters, men and women. This, however, did not represent the total number actually living in polygamy. The naturalized voters of Utah at that time were a third more numerous than the native-born, according to the statistics of the Utah Commission. With so large a foreign population there must of necessity have been thousands of unnaturalized foreigners residing there, most of whom would be Mormons, and many living in polygamous relations. These, of course, would not appear as disfranchised by the new law, and therefore would not be shown as having their names dropped from the registration list. This is true also of a considerable number of minors living in polygamy. The Mormons have always been strong advocates of early marriage. During the worst days of Utah, it was not uncommon to find some ecclesiastically exalted Mormon priest with a girl-child fourteen or fifteen years of age as one of his polygamous wives. Gentile agitation had somewhat improved this condition by 1882, notwithstanding which there would still be many polygamous wives too young to vote, under the woman's suffrage provision of Territorial laws. The report of the Commission takes no account of a third class. Elections in Utah were very one-sided in those days. The church-party had everything its own way. Of the votes cast in the election of August, 1882, even after the disfranchisement of polygamists, the Mormon candidate for delegate to Congress received 79 per cent. Under these circumstances we can readily understand

that very many Mormons, and among them the usual percentage of polygamists, would not be registered at all, and, therefore, would not be excluded from the registration lists and would not be included in the 12,000 polygamists spoken of by the commission.

These three classes of polygamists not included in the 12,000, who were dropped from the registration list, probably would bring the total of persons living in polygamous relations up to 15,000 in 1882. There is no public record from which we can judge the average number of wives to each man polygamist. Some, of course, had but two. It used to be said that one must have three to be wholly acceptable in respectable society, and the biography of apostle Heber C. Kimball credits him with forty-five wives, whom he lovingly designated as "cows."

It is the consensus of observers that four wives for each polygamous household would be nearly an average in 1880, perhaps a fraction too high for later dates. Some people very well-informed have estimated the average as low as three. With 15,000 men and women in the status of polygamy, and averaging between three and four wives to each family, would make the number of polygamous families in Utah range between 3,000 and 3,700.

Early in the sixties, a Congressional Committee, after extended investigation, estimated the total number of polygamous families at 3,500. In the seventies, Mormon authorities estimated the number at 3,000 families. The margin of variance between these estimates, made by different persons, by different methods, and accompanied by different motives, is so small as to leave little room for doubt that in 1880 and the years immediately following the number of polygamous Mormon families in Utah was very near three thousand five hundred. In June, 1880, the white population of Utah was 142,381. Election returns then and since warrant the conclusion that 80 per cent., or 113,904, of that population were Mor-

mon. According to the best information obtainable, we conclude that in 1880 there were in Utah Territory 3,500 men living with 11,500 women in polygamous relation. The total population of Utah was 143,907. Total white population, 142,381. Total male population, 74,471. Total female population, 69,436.

At the present writing there are two sources of information as to the number of polygamous families in recent years. Just prior to the late unpleasantness which resulted in the exclusion of the polygamous Congressman B. H. Roberts of Utah, the clergy of the Christian churches made as careful a canvass as they could, with the resulting conclusion that there were 2,000 polygamous families in Utah "living their religion." A little later the Mormon church organ denied the accuracy of that canvass, but admitted the existence of 1,600 such families. Here we may assume an average of the hostile and the friendly estimate to be quite close to the real truth.

The net product of all this, that while the Mormons of Utah have, since 1866, probably increased three-fold, the number of polygamous families has decreased from about 3,500 to about 1,800. What is true of Mormons in Utah is equally true of those in the adjoining states. Senator Smoot of Utah recently stated that in 1902 the number of polygamous families had diminished to 897, and in 1903 to 647, and no one has disputed his figures.

The same decline is found in the maximum number of wives per family. "The Prophet" Joseph Smith is estimated to have had eighty wives sealed to him by Mormon rites and with whom he maintained marital relations. The late "Apostle" Heber C. Kimball modestly admitted to having forty-five. Between 1850 and 1880, scores of men could claim "exaltation" through from ten to twenty living wives. In recent years no one, so far as the author knows, has been even suspected of having ten living wives. The size of polygamous families, therefore,

discloses almost as great a decline as is found in the number of such families.

If these were all the facts involved in determining upon the necessity for an anti-polygamy amendment to the Federal Constitution, the matter would quickly be decided against such an amendment, because it would seem that the institution of polygamy was fast becoming extinct.

The additional facts involved are those inferred from the violation by Mormon leaders of their sacred honor, pledged not only to cease consummating new marriages, but also to discountenance and discontinue polygamous marital relations already entered into. When, in 1890, the Mormon church adopted its "manifesto" "suspending" polygamy, most people thought the problem solved. The Mormons, through their delegate to Congress, through their representatives before Congressional Committees, through their "apostles" petitioned for a general amnesty from the President, through their legislative resolutions and enactments, and through sworn interpretations of the manifesto of 1890 made by the very "mouthpieces of God," gave specific, unequivocal and most solemn assurance that neither polygamy or unlawful cohabitation would be countenanced by the church or its leaders, nor by the laws of Utah or by a Mormon public sentiment precluding their enforcement.

The escheated church-property being returned to their possession, and Utah's statehood being an accomplished fact, this "saintly" horde boldly removed its mask of seeming compliance, and entered upon its programme of aggressive warfare in favor of polygamy. First, Brigham H. Roberts, a polygamist, was sent to Congress in the face of undenied public charges that he was, in violation of law and Mormon pledges, continuing his unlawful cohabitation. This was naturally followed by a general justification of such conduct. Not one single Mormon in good standing has ever been found to plead publicly for an honest keeping of the most solemn pledges made against

unlawful cohabitation between those who became polygamists prior to 1890. A very few Mormons have upon considerations of expediency alone opposed the passage of a law which would make prosecutions for unlawful cohabitation and polygamy practically impossible, but all without a single exception justify the violation of all pledges and existing laws against unlawful cohabitation. Already a few justify the repudiation of all pledges because, as they contend, all were improperly exacted under conditions amounting practically to duress. Anti-Mormons are asking: "How long will it be before such moral perversity will induce every Mormon to justify a violation of the pledges and laws against the taking of new polygamous wives?" It is feared only until the leaders see fit to command their slavish following to do so.

That there exists a reactionary force within the church, through whose influence some new polygamous marriages have been, since 1890, secretly solemnized and publicly denied, is established by the best possible circumstantial evidence and even admitted by some Mormons. That since statehood this increase in polygamists has been as rapid as the decrease by deaths, no one outside the church can assert upon any evidence discoverable to the public. Unless the increase of polygamists is now, or is likely to become, equal to the death-rate among polygamists, then it is apparent that the system will die soon, even without the aid of Federal legislation, and ninety millions of people will not be disposed to give up their right of local self-government over the marriage relation merely to hasten the certain death of an institution which involves directly less than 1,000 families.

The condition precedent to a very serious consideration of the demand for an anti-polygamy amendment to the Federal Constitution briefly stated is this: First, competent evidence, sufficient to make a *prima facie* case, that new polygamous marriages are being solemnized by

the Mormon leaders. This is easy, since very few sporadic cases are admitted. Second, the proponents of this amendment must establish a probability that those marriages are likely to increase the number of those living in polygamous relation at least as fast as the death rate will decrease it. It is not enough to prove a half-dozen new polygamous marriages since 1890, a period of sixteen years. There should be *prima facie* evidence tending to show a general revival of polygamous marriages, at least to such an extent as to make the perpetuity of polygamy a real menace.

There is another reason why this amendment should not be adopted. The mere matter of giving Congress power to legislate upon marriage, or polygamy, or adultery, would be absolutely useless. To prove this, we need but resort to the record of what was accomplished while Congress did have and exercised that power. The first national anti-polygamy law was passed in 1862, and the apparent desire and need for its enforcement continued until 1890, twenty-eight years. During that time there existed an average of 3,000 polygamous families, with an average, let us assume, of only three polygamous wives. It will be a fair estimate to say that at least two-thirds of these polygamous marriages were performed after 1862. In other words there must have been solemnized about 6,000 bigamous marriages, and 12,000 persons continuously, repeatedly and defiantly committing adultery, in spite of the prohibitory Congressional legislation. Making allowance for successive generations of persons living in this relation, the total number of the guilty must have been twice that number, or more. Out of that gross number, not to exceed a total of ten convictions were ever secured before 1890, against Mormons for either polygamy, bigamy or adultery. This amounts to a demonstration that Congressional enactments will be wholly impotent to reach these secret ceremonies and relations, unless the Fed-

eral judiciary is to be reduced to police courts, and take cognizance of minor offences, such as fornication, bastardy, and unlawful cohabitation. It was only for such minor offences that convictions were ever secured. The situation is not yet grave enough to require so extraordinary a remedy as depriving the States of the power over such police-magistrate affairs. In all probability the experiment would only prove over again, that the sociological theories of a sincere fanatic cannot be changed by force, and the effort to coerce him will only increase the frenzy of his fanaticism without enlightening his intellect. It is worth some serious thought whether in view of the foregoing statistics we are not making as much progress as reasonable men could expect.

If there has been, or shall ever be, any

flagrant violation of the anti-polygamy pledges upon which Statehood was secured and the escheated church-property returned to the Mormon church, Congress and the courts will find some effective remedy. It is quite likely that a resequestration of the church property, because the conditions have been violated upon which its return to the church was predicated, will be even more effective than threats of Constitutional amendments, because it affects the purse-strings of those "whose voice is the voice of God"—the leaders. This is a remedy easily applied and does not require the concurrence of state legislatures. If something is really necessary to be done now, why not attempt that first?

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

New York City.

CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH: INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE.

By C. C. HITCHCOCK.

LIFE AND LABOR.

Here on a languid deck how tranquilly we float!
Seafaring now seems easy, thanks to—call it coal!—
Who blames us all for idling, on an idle boat?
Fools, stand and watch one moment in the stoker's
hole!

ARTHUR STINGER.

On the planet Earth one problem rises incessantly before every being. Whether it is the monad moping about in the sea-slime, the miser conning his accumulations, the wild bird incubating her brood, the firefly kindling its twilight torch, or the lawyer lying about his client, the problem is the same. There is no other problem; for all other problems are fractions or inflections of this one. It is the relation of each individual to the rest of the universe.

J. HOWARD MOORE, in *Better World Philosophy*.

WE DEFINE wealth as the things provided or produced by the labor of man applied to land or the products of nature, comprising such things as are needful, or of service, to man

for his maintenance and development.*

Each individual unit of society consumes wealth in the form of food, clothing, shelter, etc., while the collectivity demands wealth in certain forms which is used in common. It is the use of wealth by the individual, and by the social body as a whole, which we consider.

Let us first refer to the ownership and consumption of wealth by the individual.

It is obvious to all that there is a vast disparity in the amount of wealth which the various members of society have at their disposal. The average yearly wage of the individual workers of our country,

*The atmosphere, the soil, the mines, the forests, etc., are nature's products and belong by inherent right to the race collectively. The individual has a moral right to appropriate to his personal use only such values as he may have added to nature's gifts by his personal creative energy.

according to government statistics, for 1900, was \$439.09,—less than \$1.50 per day. These figures do not include the salaried official workers. Were the salaries of this class of producers added, the average income would be but slightly increased. There are, on the average, directly dependent on each worker 2.6 non-workers.

It is a matter of common knowledge that in every industrial center there are many families comprising father, mother, and several children, who of necessity, as industry is now organized, are obliged to subsist on an amount of wealth represented by a weekly income of \$7 to \$12. A larger income is received in case the children work, or as in many instances, the mother becomes a wage earner.

According to the Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for 1892, the family income of the laboring class was, on the average, approximately \$750. The average family expenditure was as follows: For subsistence, \$377; clothing, \$136; rent, \$90; fuel, \$8; sundry expenses, including savings, \$113. The statistics for the State of Massachusetts correspond very closely with those for New York state.

Robert Hunter, in his book *Poverty*, states that there are ten million people in the United States whose command of wealth is so limited that they are either in, or on the verge of, poverty. The same authority also states that in New York city there are thousands of children who are sent to school either without breakfast, or so insufficiently nourished that they are not in a state of health to efficiently apply themselves to their tasks.

William B. Waudby, Special Agent of the United States Department of Labor, states that there are 1,750,000 children between the ages of ten and fifteen years employed in the mines and factories of the United States.

Unquestionably the laboring classes as a rule are not lavish in their consumption of wealth. It is a fact also, that the great majority of wealth-producers would

become destitute following a few months of enforced idleness.

As industry is now carried on, economic security to the individual can be had, if at all, only through the accumulation of a considerable amount of wealth. It is only by depriving himself of many desirable things, and to a considerable extent even of things necessary to a comfortable living, that the average laborer can accumulate sufficient wealth to attain a condition approaching security.

The fact is, we claim, that the standard of living for the laboring class is not as high as it should be. The workers are not as a class as well nourished, as well clothed, as well housed, or as well educated, as they should be. Many are not adequately protected from disease, or well cared for in sickness. They are deprived of the advantages of travel, and in large measure denied leisure for recreation and improvement.

Quite likely of the two evils which threaten the average wealth-producer to-day, that of a dependent old age, or a life of scanty subsistence, the latter in many cases should be considered the lesser evil. It is our contention, however that with our facilities for wealth production, neither of these alternatives should exist.

We next refer to the consumption of wealth by the middle and upper classes.

In almost every community of a few thousand inhabitants, there are found families which consume wealth represented by \$5,000 to \$10,000 per annum; \$15 to \$25 per day and upwards. In the larger cities there are many thousands of families whose annual consumption of wealth is represented by \$200,000 to \$300,000; \$700 to \$1,000 and over daily; these amounts not including extraordinary expenses, such as refurnishing a house, or the purchase of automobiles, expenditure for yachts, or an additional mansion.

One of the New York "smart set," writing recently of their manner of life says, among other things, "that the aver-

age man in this class is expected to spend any amount varying from \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year for clothes, a woman from \$3,000 to \$10,000 not including jewels."

A multi-millionaire is building a house in New York city at a cost, it is said, of \$4,000,000. This expenditure by one individual for a home represents the labor of one man, if reckoned at \$4 per day, for three thousand three hundred years.

The income of one of our most prominent men is estimated to be \$50,000,000 per annum. It may be less than this amount and be equivalent to a daily income represented by a column of twenty-dollar gold-pieces placed one above the other, exceeding fifty feet in height.

We cannot dwell on the details of extreme poverty, with which we all are in some measure familiar, nor on the conditions surrounding the extremely wealthy. The manner of life of both classes is adequately set forth in prominent publications and current literature of the day.

Definite knowledge, however, on the part of the student regarding the material conditions, the life, and the thought of the various classes in society, is essential to a comprehensive understanding of our economic and sociological development.

We cannot form any correct estimate of the amount of poverty existing in our own country without being overwhelmed with the enormous extent of it, and of the suffering, the ignorance, intemperance, insanity and crime which it engenders.

We next briefly refer to what may fairly be considered abnormal conditions pertaining to our method of wealth distribution.

Under our modern system of production, the distribution of the product of labor remains a problem of no minor importance.

Government statistics for the year 1890 show that, at that time, one per cent. of the families of our nation received nearly one-fourth of the total income. From the same source it is ascertained that the wealthiest ten per cent. of our families receive about the same total in-

come as the remaining ninety per cent.; that one-eighth of the families receive more than one-half of the aggregate income, and the richest one per cent. receive a larger income than the poorest fifty per cent. It appears that a small class of wealthy property-owners receive, from property alone, as large an income as one-half the people receive from their investments and their labor.

The conditions depicted are facts of momentous import, and it may well be claimed that the practical solution of this problem of wealth distribution has become the task of the century.

That our argument may be made clear, let us define our use of the term wealth-producer.

From the point-of-view of the social economist, the terms worker, laborer, and wealth-producer, refer to the individual who produces wealth, or who contributes by his creative effort to the furnishing of the means of subsistence, or whose effort contributes to supplying the needs of an industrially well organized community.

The effort of a teacher does not add to the stock of things we eat or wear, or by which we are sheltered; the teacher does, however, devote his energies to the training of the young, and in thus preparing the rising generation for citizenship there is an expenditure of effort which commands universal approval, meeting as it does the requirements of every cultured society; and hence the teacher should be classed as a wealth-producer.

To those who have given but little thought to the production of wealth, it may appear that every individual who employs his time and energy in acquiring the means of subsistence is a wealth-producer. A very little reflection will convince the inquirer that this is not necessarily the case. A schemer is not a wealth-producer. To illustrate, a speculator buys stocks, a house, a farm, or a lot of grain; he sells for twice as much as he pays and makes, he says, \$1,000. His effort has not added any-

thing to the world's store of wealth. He is not a wealth-producer.

The merchant of to-day is to a considerable extent an exploiter of the community. Individual firms expend yearly all the way from a few hundred to many thousands of dollars in advertising. Some of the larger firms employ skilled and high-salaried writers of advertisements; illustrations are procured, type is set, presses are run, advertisements folded, addressed and distributed by a whole army of employés who are not producers. They produce no wealth whatever. Not an ounce of food, not a yard of cloth exists which did not exist before. Nearly \$2,000,000 each day are expended in the United States in this way—\$600,000,000 per year,—energy wasted in strife among merchants and manufacturers to secure under the name of profit, wealth already created by other laborers. In many instances a larger amount of energy is expended in placing goods on the market than is expended in producing them. Note also the enormous amount of wealth consumed in the construction and maintenance of the vast armies and navies of the world, neither of which in the slightest degree is a factor in wealth production.

Waste—unproductive expenditure of energy—attending our present profit system is enormous. For want of space we hardly more than allude to it. The elimination of this unnecessary expense is the most pressing economic problem before the world to-day.

With this evil corrected, as it certainly will be, we have what? Socialism; in place of the competitive state we have the coöperative commonwealth.

The observer will recognize that the small but very wealthy minority of our families, as a rule, contribute but little if anything to the world's store of wealth, while they consume enormous quantities of it. The rich minority occupy their time mainly either in consuming wealth, or in devising ways and means whereby they are able to secure the wealth created by others.

At this point let us ask a few pertinent questions, all of which call for adequate answer.

Why are we confronted with such extremes of wealth and poverty?

Why are many thousands of our laboring families deprived of a comfortable living, many in poverty even, while our storehouses are filled with goods?

Why do we at great cost expend large sums in opening foreign markets and in transporting merchandise to distant shores when there are so many willing workers at home whose wants are not reasonably well provided for?

Why are the few enabled to revel in wealth created mainly by others, while there are multitudes whose energies are freely expended in production who are permitted to consume but a small portion of their product?

To state the question a little differently: Why is it that those who create but little are enabled to consume much, while those who create much are allowed to consume but little?

The social economist answers these inquiries relating to the great disparity in wealth consumption by referring to our faulty, unscientific and unjust methods of wealth distribution. Tolstoi has in mind the cause of our social ills when he says: "The misery of the people is not caused by individuals, but by an order of society by which they are bound together in a way that puts them in the hands of a few."

What is this order of society to which he refers; this order of society which has dominated our civilization to such an extent that it has become a menace to our social health and advancement?

Briefly stated it is this: Capitalism; our profit system. It is the profit system which is the determining factor in the distribution to the laborer who creates wealth of one dollar and one half per day on an average, while by others who may produce nothing we see wealth appropriated in sums running up into millions in a single year.

The capitalistic order has decreed that inanimate capital shall practically compete with living tissue in the division of wealth which is created only by the brain and muscle of that portion of humanity which applies itself to production. Our statutes prescribe, in effect, that material wealth in the form of capital may for its possessor exact its pound of flesh from the toiler; that capital shall have the power of perpetual increase for the benefit of him who controls it, as against him who creates the wealth.

We repeat, because trained in capitalism as we are it is with difficulty we are enabled to see that capitalism is economic jugglery. Capital has, by law, been enthroned as though it were a wealth-producer, thereby relieving its possessor of personal effort in production. The individual possessing capital, and drawing wealth under the form of interest, rent, profit or dividend, is seen to be a parasite on that portion of humanity which exerts its energies in creating wealth. Wealth, the product of toil, which should be completely subservient to man, has become enthroned so that it dominates and rules over the destinies of humanity. As McKenzie says: "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." In this expression the whole evil of our present condition is summed up."

The task of the century, we have intimated, is the establishment of a system of scientific economics,—a system which will provide for an equitable distribution of wealth; wealth to him who produces wealth.

It is claimed by sociologists that the well-being of any civilized nation is in direct ratio to the economic equality of her social units. The socialist concurs in this view, and indicates the only plan which will accomplish the end sought, *i. e.*, an equitable distribution of wealth. The method may be considered radical. It is unquestionably revolutionary. It is no less surely sensible, and when understood is seen to be eminently practical.

The work before us is the dethrone-

ment of capital; the annihilation of our present profit system which to-day dispossesses the creator of wealth of a large portion of his product. Wealth is to be produced primarily for consumption, not for profit as at present under capitalism. Profit is waste. We seek merely to eliminate waste.

The task is great, yet when the plan is understood it is seen to be a very simple one. It is the taking over to public ownership and control, land, and the machinery of production; that is, in addition to all natural resources, that portion of wealth which we find useful in the production of more wealth, and which we term capital. It is the establishment of a coöperative industrial society, whether under the name of socialism, socialist republic, coöperative commonwealth or some other term. It is the substitution, to the fullest extent, of the principle of coöperation in economics in the place of the competitive and destructive warfare which now prevails under capitalism.

Concisely stated, the task of humanity is to establish an order of society in which the able-bodied individual will not be allowed to consume more wealth than he creates. When we have abolished the legal capitalistic privileges which have made usury (profit) the hook whereby wealth is "filched from labor's pocket," we have practically accomplished this result.

We repeat, for here is the cardinal feature of the socialist argument: We stand for an industrial order in which the adult able-bodied consumer of wealth will eventually be required to apply himself as many hours to productive effort as there are average labor-hours required to produce the wealth he consumes.

Let us briefly illustrate the operation of this principle.

From the individual whose tastes are simple, the new order would require but little in the way of economic effort. From those having more elaborate wants, more effort in production would be required; effort proportionate to the amount of

wealth appropriated. Bear in mind, that under a coöperative commonwealth we are to be given free access to the best of labor-saving machinery.

Under a socialist republic there would be little temptation to excessively extravagant living. Extravagance is the child of capitalism. But let us assume for the sake of the argument that some individual might desire a mansion on the "Green lanes of Boston," a \$500,000 villa at Newport and another in the Adirondacks. He might think he must have a \$300,000 yacht, half a dozen automobiles, stables filled with expensive horses and carriages, a parlor-car and various other things. What would the new order say to such a man? Simply this: We impose but one condition. Appropriate any amount of wealth you may desire provided you add to the world's store of goods, by your own creative energy, as much wealth as you consume. We say "as much" yes, in all cases a percentage more for the use of the immature, the infirm, and for certain society uses.

A little investigation regarding the means and methods of wealth production will reveal the fact that life's span is not long enough for any one individual to produce such an amount of wealth. Furthermore, were such a feat possible, this vast store of wealth would be of little use to the producer as he could not afford the time to enjoy it; his attention must constantly be given to the task of its production.

In a coöperative commonwealth will there then be no princely estates, no millionaires? Adequate answer to this question can be given by asking another: Why should one individual or set of individuals create wealth for other able-bodied people to consume, thereby relieving them of the task of its production?

Let us next consider the probable effect of a changed economic environment on the individual's use of wealth. Let us consider what would be the state of affairs under the industrial democracy, a condition of society in which each individual

has free access to all natural resources, and to the machinery of production, exploitation thereby being entirely eliminated, and where each consumer of wealth is allowed its use proportionate to his effort in creating it.

1st. With our constantly increasing facilities for production there will be an abundance of wealth to supply all reasonable desires.

2d. A coöperative commonwealth furnishes an environment directly tending to great simplicity of living; liberal consumption by the individual of wealth in forms which contribute to comfort and the conveniences of life, great frugality in the use of wealth for display. As we have intimated, our competitive system is responsible for our extravagant and ostentatious display. This tendency is manifest in our surroundings from the cradle to the grave. We are not satisfied with that which is serviceable and even artistic, our expenditure must reveal our financial standing. Pretentious houses, show in dress, rivalry in entertainment, are a few of the forms in which wealth is lavishly consumed to-day. The poorer classes are led to a greater or less extent in the same direction, but few being content to appear greatly inferior, in an economic way, to their neighbors.

3d. There will be little incentive to the hoarding of wealth, as it could not be invested in the sense in which we now use that term. The energy consumed in producing wealth would more than offset any imagined good to be derived from hoarding it. Effort in production would be restricted to the supply of actual needs; thus a great amount of human energy would be conserved. To-day our wants, to a considerable degree, are artificial; we consume an enormous amount of wealth which does not contribute to our comfort, but merely to our pride.

4th. The units of society would not, to any such extent as now, be influenced by the demands of fashion. Capitalistic environment is responsible for our slavery

to its dictates. To-day, wealth being produced primarily for profit, capitalistic interests demand periodical and often radical changes in style; this in order that the renewed demand for goods occasioned by these changes furnish the capitalist with additional profit. The wealthy also here find occasion to display their wealth by a prompt adoption of the new fashions. Under a coöperative form of society the prevailing consideration, in our clothing for instance where fashion most conspicuously dominates, will be adaptability, serviceability, artistic effect. If a garment meets these requirements it will be likely to remain in good taste until well worn.

Diamonds and precious stones are used mainly as a distinguishing badge of wealth. Those who wear them are thought to frown on those who would wear an imitation as being "shoddy," as pretenders. But a good imitation can in appearance be distinguished from the genuine only by an expert. If then these sparkling points or clusters are truly ornamental and desirable for use because of their artistic effect and intrinsic beauty, why do we demand that such ornaments shall be used which can be procured only by the wealthy? Why should it not be equally good taste to secure the same effect at a fraction of the expense of the diamond? Our question needs no further reply than to point out that our capitalistic system is responsible for unnatural and arbitrary standards of taste.

We have intimated that the socialist's measure of value is labor-time. He sees the average labor-hour to be a much more accurate measure of values than money, or any other medium of exchange.

In well-organized factories the labor-cost of the products, whether shoes, cloth, iron or other forms of wealth, is determined to-day more crudely perhaps than would be the case under a coöperative commonwealth, yet factory officials can determine with a fair degree of accuracy the cost in average labor-hours of any item of their product.

Exploitation abolished, usury whether in the form of rent, profit or interest likewise abolished (a necessary step before equity of distribution can be approached), what more just exchange can be made, —with a modification to be referred to later,—than to allow the workman producing wealth as much wealth, in the same or any other form, as is produced in an equal length of time or by the same expenditure of energy, by any other producer? In other words, human effort is the only equitable measure of value.

Doubtless the thought occurs that some workers turn out, in a given time, a much larger product than certain others; under the average-labor-hour basis of exchange therefore, it may be claimed that the rapid workman is discriminated against in that he receives no more product than the moderate workman.

Under our present system of production there is an occasional worker whose amount of product is considerably above the average, and on the other hand an occasional worker whose product is considerably below the average. In exceptional cases the most rapid workman may produce, under the same conditions, twice as much wealth as the most moderate workman. We should bear in mind however that our present system does not furnish to the individual an environment favorable to a wide latitude of choice in the selection of his life-work. Economic necessity has compelled the great majority of workers to accept their sphere of activity regardless of special aptitude or taste for their calling. Had workers at the loom been given an occupation requiring a different order of ability, quite likely their capacities in production would be reversed: The worker who excels at the loom might be a poor hand at music or invention; the inferior weaver might excel at teaching or as a farmer.

A coöperative commonwealth, we have reason to believe, would furnish an environment which would give great latitude of choice to the individual in the

selection of his sphere of effort; and under such circumstances the relative capacities of the individual workers would be much more nearly equal than at present. Again we should bear in mind that the individual is a social product. The units of society are not, to any great extent, self-made; the individual is largely what he is because of his environment; because society has made him such. This being the case as we believe, we may conclude that we cannot in equity deny any individual who applies his best effort in production during a given time the average individual product during the same length of time. At all events this is a question pertaining to the distribution of wealth, which will be determined by the workers themselves; and which they will be perfectly competent to decide. It has been said with truth that there is no greater heresy than to distrust the integrity of the common people.

An important feature attending our social progress is that of appropriation and use of wealth by the collectivity. Large aggregates of wealth individually owned are seen to be a menace to the well-being and stability of society; while our social health is enhanced by an abundant store of it held collectively for the use of society at large.

Social wealth in the form of roads, parks, school and other public buildings, museums, libraries, hospitals, sewer and water-works systems, etc., mark the advance of civilization. Progress in the direction of social ownership is constantly being made, and economic education of the people is creating the demand that land and the machinery of production be transferred to social ownership and democratic control. The socialist sees that until the means of life are socialized there can be no civilization worthy of the name.

With this advance secured in the socialization of wealth, the individual will for the first time in history have direct access to power-machinery, and be able

to produce in abundance the wealth desired for his maintenance and development.

We have intimated that the producer of wealth will recognize the advantage of contributing a percentage of his product to the public treasury for communal use. In addition to the familiar forms of collectively-owned wealth which the community maintains to-day, under the new order we shall have the machinery of production to keep in repair. Also the invention and construction of new machinery, to still further lighten our task of production, will call for social rather than individual expenditure.

Educational facilities doubtless will be much more liberally provided. Not only will our common-school system call for enlargement, but manual and technical schools, and schools of art and universities for higher education will be demanded.

The store of communal wealth, we believe, will be made ample to provide for the wants, not only of the incompetent, but for the maintenance by society of each individual from birth to maturity.

Our present system of life-insurance will doubtless be supplanted under a co-operative commonwealth; in part as we have intimated; and further and completely by some system of old-age pensions. It is not unreasonable to expect that after contributing to society a liberal portion of the individual product throughout an active life devoted to production of wealth, society should provide for her social units a period of freedom and repose during the declining years of life. Even under our present system progress is being made in this direction.

We cannot dismiss this subject without reference to the attitude of a social democracy toward art.

Emerson says: "Without the great arts that speak to his sense of beauty, man seems to be a poor, naked, shivering creature." In the same line of thought John Ward Stimson says: "One sacred pole-star of life, among the weltering

billows and rocks of doubt, confusion and despair, is the growing consciousness of the race that Principles of Immortal Beauty forever cheer, console, sustain, upon every plane of mortal experience, because they are vital to the experience of God himself, and visibly insistent upon every side of his activity."

The socialist believes that the longings of the individual for the beautiful in art can most economically be provided for through collective expenditure. To-day it is not, and doubtless it will not in the near future be practical for each wealth-producer to erect his house of expensive marbles, or to store it with costly statuary and paintings. The desires of the individual in this direction can be adequately provided for, we believe, through communal expenditure. We believe it will be practical under a coöperative commonwealth for every social center to provide its free art-gallery or museum, and that the public buildings, in every such center (library, school-buildings, public halls, etc.), should be erected with lavish expenditure of labor, rarely known to-day, to secure beautiful material and to erect it in harmony of line and color and perfection of detail.

The capitalistic environment tends to conservatism in public expenditure. The coöperative environment, as we have shown in the case of the individual, will, we think, reverse the present order relating to social expenditure. A social democracy, we have reason to believe, instead of being frugal, will be lavish in the use of wealth.

The modern historian views the entire course of human history as the struggle of the race towards a more perfect state of socialization. It is only recently that the study of sociology and of economics has been sufficiently advanced to enable us to broadly interpret the meaning of the conflicts of classes, of tribes, and of nations. For this reason the progress of humanity has been blind and halting, and attended with great waste of wealth and of life. It has heretofore been a

movement without conscious purpose or definite meaning so far as the social destiny of the race is concerned. To-day we have become conscious that we have the power to shape our social environment,—to so control conditions that they will directly contribute to the well-being of society, and indirectly to the individuals of which society is composed.

In conclusion. Capitalism may, in a sense, be scientific application of energy in wealth production. Socialism is more than that: Socialism is science applied not only to the production of wealth but to its distribution. Socialism is the scientific application of human energy in supplying the economic needs of mankind, individual and collective. While socialism is scientific economics, the philosophy based thereon is the most lucid philosophy the world has ever known. It furnishes a key to the interpretation of social phenomena which readily unlocks an otherwise inextricable tangle.

In the *Changing Order*, a recent volume by Oscar L. Triggs, we find this quotation from Maeterlinck: "There are about us thousands of poor creatures who have nothing of beauty in their lives; they come and go in obscurity, and we believe all is dead within them; and no one pays any heed. And then one day a simple word, an unexpected silence, a little tear that springs from the source of beauty itself, tells us they have found the means of raising aloft, in the shadow of their souls an ideal a thousand times more beautiful than the most beautiful things their ears have ever heard or their eyes ever seen."

To many burdened souls socialism is this ideal which gives added courage and strength to bear patiently the deprivations and disappointments of life, while they work for and witness the dawn of a better civilization. Yes, socialism is more than an ideal. The coöperative commonwealth is a coming reality.

C. C. HITCHCOCK.

Ware, Mass.

SHALL EDUCATED CHINAMEN BE WELCOMED TO OUR SHORES?

By HELEN M. GOUGAR.

LIKE THE mushroom that springs up in a night has come the demand that the Chinese Exclusion Act shall except from its operation in the United States the intelligent classes, which are enumerated as "professional men, commercial agents, bankers, lawyers, priests and journalists."

This demand has recently received the endorsement of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, the Merchants' Club of Chicago, and many of the leading magazines and newspapers of the country.

The proposition is sufficiently before the people to deserve that all sides of the important issue be considered.

One of the leading religious journals of the East puts the whole demand in a nutshell in the following editorial comment:

"According to Singapore dispatches, the boycott of American goods has sprung up again in that city stronger than ever before. It is further stated that the situation there is critical. Chinese merchants that have persisted in handling American products have received threatening letters from men behind the movement. On the other hand we are told that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its annual report, demands the enforcement to the letter of the Chinese exclusion laws of the country. Of course there is no selfishness in such an attitude! It remains to be seen whether between Congress, the President, and Secretary Root, the coming winter will see some statesmanlike act recorded which will redress the wrongs of the cultivated, professional Chinese, while properly keeping the lower order of laborers out of this country as at present. As the matter now stands an arrangement ought

not to be difficult. For it is understood that China is willing that the laboring classes shall be excluded, but asks that all other classes shall receive the same treatment here that is accorded similar classes from Europe. The request is a reasonable one. Certainly no good reason can be offered for the exclusion of Chinese professional men, and particularly traveling commercial agents. Chinese merchants are admitted at present, but the exclusion law is interpreted strictly, and a commercial agent cannot enter as a merchant. The exempted classes, as the law stands, are not numerous and it is difficult to understand why a Chinese banker, lawyer or journalist should be excluded while students and teachers are admitted. We want the best of all nations to see us and know us, and it is to be and it is hoped that the present administration will make this possible."

Who constitute the laboring classes that are already excluded and that all seem to be willing to be excluded from the United States? Those who toil with their hands, the real wealth-producers of every land. To be sure they are poor, and it is a strange commentary on industrial conditions the world over that those who do the most and hardest work are the poorest. Those who demand the exclusion only of these laborers must hold that labor and poverty are twin disgraces, and by such exclusion are willing to increase the misery of those who toil with their hands and produce the wealth of the world!

Why should Chinese laborers be excluded from a country that has such wealth of undeveloped resources as America has, and allow the parasites of wealth,

such as merchants, bankers, lawyers, priests and professional men be allowed to come in hordes, as they will come, if an exception is made in the exclusion act in their favor?

To the casual observer, resolutions appear very just and liberal that ask for an open-door for the intelligent and commercial classes. But what will be the result upon America's young business manhood? The commercial life of the Orient gives warning answer. It is true that the cultivated Chinaman is a charming specimen of the human family; he is keen of intellect, tireless in energy, honorable in his dealings to an eminent degree, a skilled money-changer, a law-abiding citizen; but he is also a cheap employé, a poor home-maker, superstitious in religion, holds woman in supreme contempt,—possessing the right of life and death over his wife or wives in his own country,—brutal in his punishments, and if he comes here he comes with all these qualifications as a citizen.

He can vote the same as any other immigrant after a few years of residence. He will soon become a social, commercial and political power to be reckoned with in our already complicated body politic.

Shall he come? Is there no danger because he is intelligent? The answer is found in his conduct and influence in the Orient.

He is the money-changer in banks, railway and steamboat-offices, and hotels, the comprador for contractors and syndicates, and wherever trustworthiness is needed there is the intelligent Chinaman; he is the merchant and tradesman, and is so successful that few can compete with him.

Should these "intellectuals" be permitted free ingress they would work the greatest injury to the ambitions and opportunities of young, educated, capable and aspiring American men. Commercialism is quick to recognize ability that hires at a small wage. His supreme virtues make him dangerous.

I am emphatic in the assertion, after

witnessing the almost universal employment in the Orient of the educated Chinaman, that his presence in this country would be most detrimental and dangerous to the Anglo-Saxon business man. The college-educated man, the American banker, professional man, commercial agent, lawyer and journalist would be driven into the background, would be overwhelmed by these Goths and Vandals of the commercial world.

The Chinese merchant is in San Francisco. What is the result? The answer is found in the crowded, filthy, immoral quarter of that city known as "Chinatown." He lives like a rat at home and he would live no better here. To allow the Chinese "intellectual" to come to this country would mean a "Chinatown" to augment the slums of every city in the United States, for the Chinaman is never sufficiently cultivated to live decently, according to American ideals.

As a commercial factor the intellectual Chinaman is a dangerous rival in the business world. The intellectual American should be most earnest in opposing his admission into this country. He would do far more harm by lowering the standard of living than the coolie or laboring classes would do. Of the two, the intellectual is a more undesirable immigrant than the coolie; the latter may undermine us with his shovel, but the intellectual would knock us on the head.

The quotation from the religious journal suggests that the resolution by the Federation of Labor is inspired by selfishness. Be it so, it is most commendable selfishness. It is the selfishness of self-protection and the preservation of American ideals of home-life.

It is no unkindness nor inhumanity to tell the Chinaman to stay at home. He is needed there to improve his corrupt government, to educate his ignorant hordes, to widen the streets and drain his filthy cities reeking with disease, to treat women like human beings, to banish his Joss-houses and level his temples filled with tawdry gods, to plough up his

graveyards and develop his millions of rich acres that are waiting for the application of enterprise and intelligence to give comforts to the Chinese millions that are living in squalor and filth in crowded cities, not for want of room but for want of better ideals.

Great primeval forests wait the axe and saw of the millions of coolies and their ambition to build homes; rich mines of gold, silver and other precious metals, coal-beds and stone-quarries invite the brain of the intellectuals and the labor of the coolie to remain at home to better the conditions of the race, instead of gaining entrance into this country through a sentimentalism that does little credit to the patriotism, common-sense or commercial spirit of Americans. Let China boycott our trade if she will; we can get along

better without her trade than we can with her intellectuals in our country.

There is but one way to settle the vexed problem of Chinese exclusion and incidentally foreign immigration, to avoid the cry of unjust discrimination.

Put not less than a \$500 poll-tax on the head of every immigrant not of Caucasian blood. We would not only protect ourselves from the "yellow peril," but from the "brown peril" of the Orient.

Let ours be an Anglo-Saxon civilization wrought successfully as the world's example.

Under such non-discriminating law, China and the Orient would have no occasion for complaint and America's welfare and safety would be conserved.

HELEN M. GOUGAR.

La Fayette, Ind.

UNRECOGNIZED INSANITY: A PUBLIC AND INDIVIDUAL DANGER.

BY HENRIK G. PETERSEN, M.D.

ADMIT that human life is a complex state and that as individuals we bear the variegated imprint of past and present, are consciously or unconsciously obedient to impulses, and such admission involves also the recognition of guidance by a complex and elusive quantity—mind. Then naturally arises the question as to how far we can lay greater claim to absolute directness, even sanity, of thought and act, than to perfect independence of will and control. Hesitating to affirm or deny, we clearly perceive that a uniform standard of self-manifestation is lacking, both theoretically and practically; yet we adhere to a belief in perfect sane mentality.

It is fortunate that our unimpeachable sanity is not to be gauged by absence of uniformity. By the concurrence of major capacity, we have evolved a system by

which to establish a serviceable standard excluding whatever diverges or jars upon current comprehension of mental evenness in relation to ordinary life. Necessarily the area has been made generously large in order to include the greatest number of our fellowmen. Although the grooves in which such theoretical sanity is presumed to move are drawn on the rectilinear plan, they are adorned by curves and ellipses in accordance with experimental and confusing facts, which apparently contradict the axiomatic truth that the shortest distance between two points is the straight line. Evolution of healthy thought thus enforces the admission that a circuitous route leads to sound reasoning. Argument is as yet wanting as to the exact order and number of characteristics constituting universal evidence of rational ideation; conse-

quently in our endeavor to be precise, we have sped past or lingered behind, according to material or controversial methods. Aside from this and the apparent impossibility of presenting a patent type-mould, our existing sanity system has been so far elaborated that no one can murmur at a classification which adjudges him mentally sound or defective. It is only the comparatively rapid enlargement of confines that reveals the inefficiency of this social structure of intellectual aggregations, and daily accumulating evidence demonstrates the futility of too close an adherence to any accepted code. The working system of to-morrow refutes the rule of yesterday.

If it is no easy matter to delineate the proper claims of sanity, the opposite condition meets with even greater and more embarrassing difficulties. There exists, of course, a sharply-drawn line of demarcation, much as between decorous sobriety and the strange gyrations of inebriety, but the finer shades of mental stability either escape sufficient notice or are confounded with temperament, generally considered,—jovialness or morbidness. In reality, we are defeated by our system or lack of adequate system because enthroned behind a timorous disinclination to advance too far in a scrutiny liable to restrict the field of supposed sanity. Scientific perspicacity is less at fault than a position of expectancy, and especially the presence of obstacles which hamper an early and painstaking observation of cause and effect. There is a natural strong disposition to cling with extraordinary tenacity to our place as rational beings, to invent plausible excuse for whatever in our conduct deviates from or becomes inconsistent with well-balanced thought and act. Such protest survives even unmistakable degeneration, and, almost without exception, inmates of insane hospitals consider themselves sane, indignantly repelling all idea to the contrary. By building professed mad-houses, said a French wit,

men tacitly insinuate that all who are out of their senses are to be found in those places only. Even so, their numbers encroach threateningly upon those of the saner majority.

Irrefutable facts demonstrate that insanity increases at a high rate all over the civilized world, the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race being no more exempt than effete nations. Here in New England and in this country generally, the average ratio is one in about every three hundred inhabitants. To receive this abundant fruit of modern civilization we have doubled the number of our storage-houses, not over-sanguine as to their capacity of holding the harvest nor our means to prevent over-production.

While as a rule we contend that sanity is without varying degrees, no one stands ready to advance that this is equally true in regard to insanity. A person is sane or insane, but more or less only in the latter instance. When system, complacency or superficial knowledge incline to qualify us sane individuals, without troubling about comparative or superlative degrees, no wonder that the germ of insanity easily eludes detection and that the catastrophe, drawn nearer by shrinking from unwelcome facts, gives no warning against approaching disaster by initiatory indications. As the growth of mental infirmity is proportionate to its breeding capacity and immunity from proper interference, well-directed precautions would partake of social no less than scientific duty. Vastly more important, indeed, the ability to grasp and modify those subtle variations whose incipient stages point the course of fuddled brain activity, than recognizing normal intellectual grades. Mental science has proclaimed the necessity of early discernment and protective measures, but the conviction has not gained executive strength and method. Much as heretofore, with but little concern and remedial effort, we live with these unfortunate individuals, marry them, employ them, follow their advice and suffer their caprices.

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Is there not, in so doing, a degree of insanity on our part also?

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that public interest in this momentous question is neither appropriately keen nor intelligently developed. Only through educational processes may a change be expected. The purpose of psychology must be more clearly defined and better understood as mental science. Not as experimental uncertainty, but as an agent of remedial force, must the urgency and timely value of its services be impressed upon the community and intelligence awakened to the fact that its office is not merely to pass upon drifting wreckage, but principally to forecast threatening storms and pilot into safe harbors. Through this ability to differentiate in advance of occurrence and obviate calamity by logical conclusion, it will give tangible evidence of scientific accuracy and recruit a most needed support—public confidence. We still hold the prejudicial ignorance to which mental defect has always been subject, and an obstinate disinclination to disclose the clouded relations of family life still lingers. Moreover, an erroneous conception nurtures a false and unqualified pride that thwarts attempts to reach a weakened mind while saving steps are still easy of ascent. The conviction that mental derangement is a disease possessing stages of growth like physical ills, gains ground but slowly, and preventive measures engage little sympathy through desultory efforts. The popular idea of insanity conforms more with what is violently abrupt and hopeless and, because of shock and tragedy, amenable to incarceration. Where the climax, as an intelligent lesson, should serve a logical end preparing for acceptance of psychological facts, the effect strengthens but an inept suggestion of the inevitable. While such an unwholesome aspect may be said to represent traditional ignorance, and its gloomy errors oppose the alienist's task by a strong hold upon the popular imagination, abuse of intellect and

indifference on the part of those credited with broader views are even more likely to confuse sober and dutiful perception of social danger.

In only too many instances what benefit does the public derive from legal probing of insanity? As displayed in our courts it is frequently more associated with a revolting concern to further selfish purpose than with a desire to protect an unfortunate condition. In the eleventh hour it may be made the ringing appeal in defence of some dastardly act otherwise destitute of extenuating circumstances, and psychology called upon in conjunction with mental experts to strengthen the gossamer arguments of a counsel in despair of cause. Or, the public is treated to the spectacle of a lawyer, fresh from the reading of works upon mental intricacies, wrangling with the opponent or the physician to prove and disprove. Furthermore, if the controversy of alienists engaged in the struggle unfortunately obscures rather than elucidates the abnormal features of the case, the judge may or may not arrive at an appropriate conclusion. In this he will be assisted by a jury with honest intentions, but rarely capable of discerning the true correlation between subtle mental causes and positive physical facts. A puzzle of greater or less magnitude to the parties involved, it must remain so to the public at large which has followed its knotted phases and whose inferences were indicative of its mood,—sympathetic or prejudiced. Whether such disposition extends to an innocent, fraudulent or criminal individual, a testator or disappointed heirs, the main outcome is generally a blurred image and contemptuous disregard for opinion otherwise worthy of the highest consideration. Thus faith in scrutinizing authority is weakened by impatient, even arrogant public criticism, never for a moment conscious that individual neglect of preventive measures is the responsible primitive cause for the thrill of horror, clamor of fear and indignation which convulse

the community when the smouldering evil suddenly blazes. It is censure whose impulsive weakness is rendered intolerant by being pretentious and impractical because exaggerated. Fugitive as are these morbid and spectacular impressions, there remains, however, a vague and phantasmal apprehension of danger. The calamity is positive but the ability to cope with the conclusive realities uncertain.

Does the diminishing sane majority contemplate raising still vaster monuments to decadent life, or will it concentrate its energies upon the rebuilding of salutary homes and men? Now, more than ever, it is confronted with a forceful necessity of choice. The evil cannot properly be referred to periodicity, as of epidemics, nor can a plea of suddenness, like that which disturbs cosmic harmony, be an excuse for insufficient means of resistance. The condition of ravage has been fostered by blind care, been allowed a steady growth, and illustrates with terrible exactitude the grinding processes we have selected to further human progress. Plentitude as well as scarcity of resources have spurred to the breaking-point every active power and shown danger both in feverish exertion to achieve and in satiety and indolence of possession. Not incidental, but dependent upon violation of natural laws, the cause is divested of all mystery as the recoil of immoderate surcharge and misspent ambitions. We can neither feign surprise at its presence nor wonder at its powerful antagonism, but must deplore not having foreseen and arrested its development. Although prisons and hospitals confine moral and physical degeneracy, they furnish but approximate statistics of social decay. They prove, nevertheless, in a striking manner not only a most prodigal law of causation, but also our inadequate means of control and our indiscriminate classification. There is a vast difference between imaginary, untrained common sense and psychological grasp upon mental conditions and pro-

cesses. The longer they remain in opposition by conceit of equality or superiority, the greater the confusion and more dangerous the delay preventing concerted, well-regulated efforts.

It is undoubtedly as true concerning the insane as in regard to criminals, that thousands would be locked up but for the perilous chance of not having been found out. All are acquainted with individuals whose temperaments, ideas and manners give rise to wondering perplexity. Our streets are peopled with many whose countenances, gait and occasional emphasis denote self-centered, conflicting brain activity. Here we catch a glimpse of extravagant affectation and petulant singularity, there the strutting conceit of nascent paranoia, the slanting looks of the rancorously envious and suspicious, or the torpidly moving body with foolish thought and malevolent planning. Betrayed by a multitude of almost imperceptible indications to a keen observer, a closer contact may in many instances fail to give sharper relief; very few, however, disprove mental deterioration by plausible claim of unusual development and manifestation of character. As a rule they are all conscious of their psychic mimicry; it is to some a burden and to others a satisfaction. Many suffer cruelly from futile attempts at control, from fear of detection or under the merciless lash of a scoffer; many are elated and naively allude to these precursive signs in pleasant and to themselves complimentary terms. The eccentric is made to pass for original; the taciturn and morose are called profound; the brusque or whimsical offender is looked upon as a plain-speaking or amusing person; and irritable, offish and imperious moods are explained as belonging to high-strung organizations whose delicate sensitiveness the ordinary affects with painful acuteness, and so on. While pity for these individuals is neither accepted nor tolerated, and assistance remains uninvited and an offence, the sufferance of their intolerable presence is expected as

a matter of course if not as blind politeness. There seems to be a tacit understanding to ignore and placidly await the explosion of these psychic bombshells which directly or indirectly we have helped to charge and ignite. That the concealment practiced by family and friends is injurious to both the sufferer and the public ought to be just as evident as the duty to prevent their falling victims to selfish or mistaken conceptions of individual responsibility and authoritative protection. As it is, the fatal results from these mental pyrotechnics cause but awed expressions of late and fleeting regret.

If this is an age where brain counts more than brawn, there is nevertheless need of a fit physical instrumentality for maintaining a pressure of endurance. Increased industries, arts and sciences have created opportunities which all are eager to seize and determined to hold against growing competition. The strugglers enter the lists at an early date, either as sullen intellectual beasts of burden or as callous taskmasters. To both the alluring prospect has the same brilliancy, but qualifications are disproportionate to ambition and the hardness of the task, the brittleness of mental caliber and the tenacity of the ruling idea wreck efforts and constitutions. That this is so, is largely the fault of an omnivorous liberal education more considerate of an elaborate programme than of just discernment between smattering, solid and essential knowledge. By encouraging a race for ill-defined and unattainable ends, it lights a consuming fire and means to many, whose aims would otherwise have been diverted into calmer channels better suited to their talents, an easy assurance of successful speed upon swifter currents. A cerebral mediocrity in full enjoyment of vigorous health and well-balanced development, brings better material to the social building than the sickly savant or a disgruntled person of attainments. Because wisely he avoided going beyond his depth, he reached the fullness of his

capacity where the others lost or saved at a discount. While maturing slowly the one is a promise in futurity, the other, the surcharged effort, is productive of brief bloom and decayed fruits.

Advocating a strenuous life in opposition to the measured and unvaried existence, the trivial has been adduced as a powerful cause of unbalanced mentality. The catholicity of the argument suffers by limitation of view, because the injurious effect is not related merely to rural monotony of occupation and isolation of thought. The trivial shrouds all that mental alertness and interest cannot endow with healthy life. If in the country it closes the mind to broader views—to nature itself—through dull contemplation of familiar scenes and paucity of fresh ideas, the varied, exhausting demands and fatigue of acquisition that a city imposes cast even darker shadows, regardless of poverty and opulence. Ever returning duties of an exacting kind, whether legitimate busy routine or fashionable emptiness; an unceasing round of pleasures and exaggerated claims upon attention; stereotyped smiles and phrases; indolence and activity in prescribed measures, both the frivolous and more serious forms of daily competition, make victims by restless nervous strain. While anxiety for the morrow saps the energy of the less favored ones, the unfortunate rich spend it as if it would last forever. The social moth flutters assiduously around the flame of high intellectual problems or artistic pursuits, in accordance with decrees and demands of its class; the dazzling show causes gradual mental starvation and benumbs through blunted perception; malassimilation transforms the beautiful and elevated into dreary drudgery under which the spirit droops. Yet awhile the jaded faculties remain tremulously active, with vague and strange longings which finally overpower the rational. Strenuous life thus pays everywhere its debt to triviality.

Is psychical infection possible? There is no doubt thereof. Experience affirms

the conveyance of impressions and ideas as well as their rooting in the mind, and upon this fact educational endeavor is based. Mental waves affect multitudes as they do individuals, but degrees of predisposition and resistance make the effect transient or lasting, as in physical disease. Whether they arouse buoyant enthusiasm or shrinking fear; create admiration for national heroes or sympathy for foul murderers; strike with cyclonic violence and rapidity, simultaneous with inception, or manifest along slowly-traced lines, the gathered force depends upon an identical principle and is subject to the same developing conditions as the primary suggestive idea. Generic diversity of effect does not refute generic identity of cause. Individual symptoms will vary, prove elusive and doubtful as to final form, but they constitute disease. The clearer the conception and the deeper the study of cause and its ramifications, the easier the recognition of early indications and the less excusable both existence and prevalence.

Ought one who has been mentally diseased to marry? This question involves more especially heredity and vice. If a descendant of a degenerated family with marked hysteria, neurasthenia and suicidal tendencies, the answer must surely be in the negative. The predisposition to the resulting diseases, epilepsy, imbecility and idiocy is more particularly inherited than the diseases themselves, and, fortunately, the hereditary fatality is often obviated by sterility. On the other side, the offspring is considered exempt if the parent has become subject to a maniacal crisis of shorter or longer duration consequent upon a serious fever, parturition, pneumonia and strong emotions when mentally overworked. The taint of insanity does not as a rule result from consanguineous marriages unless, like unions within a restricted family circle, this is repeated during several generations. Still a debatable question, the weight of opinion favors the conclusion of premature de-

cline and the emphasizing of transmissible features, more or less morbid. On account of these lurking possibilities, blood-alliances may rightly be looked upon as daring experiments opposed to the best interests of family and community. A greater danger, undoubtedly, are the more frequent unions between individuals with little or no care concerning antecedents and tolerated with an equally reckless disregard for the common good. In regard to mental and bodily disease as acquired factors, the relative importance varies with sex, but in hereditary transmission the psychical element prevails among women.

Cognizant of undeniable facts that force themselves upon observation, and of psychological subtleties whose desultory nature and appearance require watchful scrutiny to decide whether the mental oscillations are within or swinging beyond rational bounds, the duty of public caretakers cannot be doubtful, but demands unabated vigilance. Not satisfactorily expressed by bringing an ever-increasing number of our fellowmen within guarded enclosures, prevention is a more logical course than commitment. Although the trend is toward improved methods and well-planned reformatory efforts are manifest in various directions, it still remains a matter of reproof that our precautions are extremely lax in regard to those who suffer from or are threatened by mental decay. In the same proportion as we recognize that many causes contribute to produce the evil, we also acknowledge that the influence to check its growing activity belongs to a large group of agencies. Nevertheless, the principal effective remedy must evolve from concerted action on the part of the medical profession and the public itself. Whatever perplexity may have attended honest medical endeavor to trace the silent working of clouded brains; whatever failure has resulted from interpreting their secrets by vague premonitions, and wherever cunning abuse has succeeded in making insanity cover moral

depravity, such shortcomings or faults can neither justify hypercritical judgment nor the placid indifference of citizens. If, on the contrary, considered an eminent matter of foresight and effect, it is only a fair presumption that to inspire confidence in protective methods, the educators themselves should be able and painstaking. This criterion appears, nevertheless, an essential cause of failure. We have efficient alienists and psychologists, but as a body medical men cannot lay claim to such knowledge of mental disease that by timely detection and practical measures their services become valuable. If it were otherwise, there would be more healthy brains in our homes, fewer decaying ones in our hospitals. If not entirely in recognition of their own helplessness, then through easy-going optimism and lack of strict requirements in regard to early watchfulness and remedial steps, physicians have yielded the supervision of germinating stages to family discretion. Because no enforcement exists, the supposition would either be that no effective assistance is available or intervention neither necessary nor beneficial. If ever held as a logically safe conclusion, such premises are to-day bereft of all but the danger they have inadvertently created. As insanity in all its stages presents a problem of public health, the layman no less than the professional becomes an indispensable factor in building and maintaining a sane community. To this end it is imperative to disseminate a general conviction that, first of all, insanity is neither a moral defect nor a disgrace, but a disease whose wilful neglect alone deserves public obloquy. Therefore should every home, rich or poor, be open to benevolent but strict scrutiny, unobstructed by ignorant false pride and hysterical interference on the part of parents and guardians. It would have to be investigation that truly investigates, and not a perfunctory form. The measure must be aided as much by civic intellectuality as by legal demand, and in the in-

terest of the race as well as in that of the individual. The result will certainly prove appalling at first and raise statistics to an astonishing height when compared with those already presented by incarcerated fellow-beings, but the step will ultimately reduce quantity and improve quality according to promptness and sanatory efficiency. As an argument to the contrary, it is hardly a tenable position to claim that the multiplying numbers in our insane asylums indicate diminishing infection outside of those institutions, nor is it proof of increased alertness on the part of lunacy commissions. Generally a last refuge, it is recruited from the unknown afflicted multitude whose neglected existence stands revealed in this manner. No juggling with figures nor optimistic presumption can successfully disprove the need of what ought to be done or create satisfaction with that which is attempted, however meritorious, under existing limitations. Because psychic decay has a longer period of incubation than physical degeneration, and we have to deal with diseased individuality rather than with disease, such fact is at once both a hopeful and a saving clause. To the well-instructed and broadened intellect, therefore, early and searching investigation within an enlarged area can mean but mutual protection whereby decadent childhood and mature age may escape the fate of adjudicated and frequently hopeless insanity, and can never be viewed in the light of odious, imposed duty to lay bare secrets of an intimate nature.

As harmonious correlation of mental and bodily activity depends upon a natural energetic life, prophylaxis offers the most effective means because it preserves and upholds the very conditions which develop without overtaxing individual strength. It advises healthy environment as an absolute necessity at all periods of mental disease. The home atmosphere rarely possesses an influence desirable for supersensitive natures whose unmodified contact with daily exigencies

hastens the climax. Agglomeration of weakened brains produces an even worse effect and is the objectionable feature of every institution intended to lessen the strain and eventually conquer the malady. For this reason most sanatoria and lately also a few insane hospitals have endeavored to mitigate the detrimental result from unwholesome environment by adopting the cottage plan. The small Belgian town, Gheel, has for centuries successfully proved to the world its philanthropic and restorative value. The director, Dr. J. A. Peeters, refers with proud satisfaction to its kind-hearted and tactful peasant-inhabitants, scattered over a vast surface, as invaluable assistants by whom even the terms "lunatic" and "insane" are banished and their charges spoken of only as "friends." Universally admired as a practical and effective method and recognized as a simplified humanitarian principle, why then so imperfectly and slowly imitated in a progressive country rich in land and means? It should not be lost sight of by our legislators when discussing appropriations for housing the insane, and although here the erection and proper equipment of numerous widely distributed pavilions involves greater expense than huge buildings, the principal purpose is to offer their inmates the best chances for recovery and not to provide room for the largest number possible at the least cost. Such a beneficial exchange for packed wards and resounding noises legitimates as economy lavish outlay, while its motive exemplifies a humane act.

Willing though we may be to sacrifice wealth for the comfort of blighted lives, our greater privilege is to brighten the path before it has grown dim and dark. Only the searchlight of reason and knowledge can guide these promptings of pity

and sympathy and make them beneficial. "Physicians are expected under the law to report each case of diphtheria and croup, scarlet fever, cholera, small-pox, measles, cerebro-spinal meningitis, chicken-pox, typhus, typhoid fever, laryngeal and pulmonary consumption, to which they may be called." Impelled by the greater prevalence and ravage of certain diseases like diphtheria and tuberculosis, demanding a wider and more effective scope of preventive measures, the medical profession has repeatedly been reminded of its neglect to report. Nevertheless, as the Board of Health regrets, the "expectation under the law" remains without conscientious fulfillment, but continues to be largely considered an optional course. A similar injunction regarding vigilance in cases of insanity does not exist, however, nor do the weekly public reports refer to this phase of communal health. Why exclude this fell disease from the dangerous class and exempt its study and prevention from professional duty under the law? Why not summon the combined efforts of legislature, medicine and public conscience in its behalf? Coöperation once established, the alienist will not only be assured of more freedom as an early observer, but physicians enabled to render efficient assistance and the monomaniacal tendencies of the day be prevented from becoming a dominant and ruining disease.

Seemingly a plea for immediate action in a case of emergency, it is absurd because necessary and mortifying because true. This blindness to both truth and necessity is the result of incongruous opinions on the part of a sane majority that might reasonably be expected to dictate and exact obedience of rules assuring its self-preservation.

HENRIK G. PETERSEN.

Boston, Mass.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE REFERENDUM MOVEMENT IN MAINE.

By ABNER W. NICHOLS.

IT IS assured to a moral certainty that the next Maine legislature will pass a resolution permitting the people themselves to determine by majority-vote whether or not the principles of the peoples' veto and a direct initiative shall be incorporated into the constitution of the state. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are pledged to such a course in plain terms.

This has not been accomplished through the efforts of those corporations that are now enjoying a private monopoly of Maine's public utilities, nor of the wild-land owners, nor the tax-dodgers, nor even through the efforts of the political bosses; nor was this a concession made to the demands of organized labor, even though the organized workers did bear all of the expenses of presenting the measure to the last legislature and of the accompanying campaign of agitation and education. It has been brought about through sheer force of popular sentiment. Out of the agitation which has been conducted by the Referendum League, the State Federation of Labor, the State Grange, and the rapidly increasing number of active advocates of the referendum principle, has developed a public opinion which refuses to be sidetracked. When politicians press upon other issues the notice of the people, instead of diverting their attention from the referendum idea, the opposite result is arrived at, for the voters proceed to consider the new issue in the light of the application of referendum methods to its solution. The people of Maine *intend to have* the referendum; and in many localities where the agitation has been concentrated and intense, the people are already using it, are actually learning self-government by practical experience, just as one learns to

drive a nail by driving a nail, not alone by watching others.

For instance: In Augusta the atmosphere is so thoroughly permeated with the referendum idea that when last spring petitions, bearing the names of 660 citizens, were presented to the City Council favoring the purchase of certain properties from private parties for a public park, and when, at about the same time, an order was introduced into the Council for the appropriation of \$40,000 for the permanent improvement on suburban roads, it seemed the most natural thing to do, and, as a matter of course, the Council did refer both questions to the voters, who took such a lively interest in the problems and spoke at the ballot-box in such decisive terms that the people generally were delighted, not merely with the final results, but particularly with the methods employed. The sentiment was much in evidence that the question had not only been settled right, but that it had been settled in the right way. 669 voters signed the petitions in favor of the park scheme when personally asked to do so, yet when the doors of the voting-booths were closed behind them and they realized their independence of outside influences, they marked their ballots as in their judgment was best for themselves, and the result was only 160 votes in favor with 669 against. Not one in ten voted as they had petitioned. Soon after the vote was taken, the writer overheard a prominent business man remark that if this matter had come up three years ago, before the agitation for the referendum, the city would have paid \$70,000 for parks they did not want, and would have gone without \$40,000 worth of good roads they did want, and his remark but voiced the general sentiment.

There are a great many people in Maine who are now convinced that whether general business shall continue to be good and the people to prosper depends absolutely upon taking away from vendable legislators the power to finally pass laws the people do not want.

Doubtless much of the success of the movement has been due to strict adherence on the part of its promoters to their policy of pointing out and persistently keeping before the people its direct connection with and bearing upon issues for and against which there has already developed a strong popular sentiment; for experience teaches that interest in public affairs develop as fast and no faster than people recognize their connection with their own affairs.

It matters not whether one realizes the fact as a fact, yet it is a fact just the same, that the real, the true, the genuine well-being of the individual is bound up in the well-being of the people as a whole. The far-sightedness or ability to recognize one's own individual interests as involved with interests common to all, is the one distinguishing feature which differentiates the statesman from the demagogue, the patriot from the grafter, and the philanthropist from the miser. We should all be patriots if we were able to locate and identify our own best interests where they actually are. We shall become patriots as fast as we arrive at a full realization of the fact that no matter how we get our living, we get a better one and get it easier when general business is good and the greatest number of people are prosperous. It is contrary to nature that men should appreciate this fact to the extent of being actually conscious of it, so that the idea shall control their actions, simply being told of it, any more than one learns to play the cornet simply by being told how. But when under the referendum a voter is called upon to decide a question in which his own well-being is involved with that of others or of the people as a whole, every effort to discover how his own individual interests

are likely to be affected must react upon himself after the manner and in the sense of a course of intellectual athletics, and the inevitable result must be that the voter will be better prepared to consider the next public question.

The common people of Maine were already alive to the futility of appealing to a legislature selected and controlled by those who through such control were securing for themselves special privileges and immunity from taxes. They were convinced that it did not lay in the power of the people, by any method at present available, to secure the passage of laws to make taxes even a little more fair and equal, to protect the people from being robbed of their wild-lands and valuable franchises, or to prevent monopoly in both the necessities of life and the means of acquiring them. They could readily understand how men or corporations worth a few millions, but paying taxes on only a few thousands, could afford to pay for the defeat of a measure that would compel them to pay their full tax. They had learned, to their disappointment and cost, that after legislators had got their election, the influence of a great many of the common people, who had perhaps helped to elect them, was often far outweighed by the influence of a few to whom some particular legislative act would be worth a large amount.

They felt that the influence of those who control legislation for their own personal profit, was direct and effective, while their own was remote, unavailing, and usually abortive, and that both those legislators who are bought and those corporations who buy are anxious to perpetuate the existing system.

Is it any wonder that the plain people of Maine are outspoken and emphatic in favor of a system which gives themselves a larger, more direct and therefore more effective influence on the making of their own laws?

The people of Maine are already interested in the liquor question, and the political parties bid against each other

for votes because of this interest; the Democratic party offering the people all the rum they want, the Prohibition party all the law they want, while the Republican party has usually been the successful bidder by giving the people both; but the people themselves feel that this is a problem with which they must cope for a long time to come, perhaps almost perpetually, and they look with favor upon the referendum as providing the methods and machinery best adapted to their purpose. They are insisting upon the right to an appeal from unsatisfactory decisions of the legislature direct to the people themselves, as to a court of last resort.

Equalization of taxes is already a ripe and living issue in Maine, and her people were quick to notice that while their own

most strenuous efforts, under the old system had been utterly futile, yet the people of Oregon on June 4th last, had an opportunity to vote directly for the reduction of their own taxes, by forcing those who enjoy a private monopoly of their public utilities to pay a more just share; and that they improved the opportunity by a vote of 11 to 1. The voters of Maine can see the true solution of their own tax problems through the same methods employed in Oregon,—methods which disentangle public questions from the private interests and personal aspirations of candidates for offices and give the voters an opportunity to pass an unbiased and non-partisan judgment upon them.

ABNER W. NICHOLS.

Augusta, Maine.

THE WOMAN WITH THE KNITTING.

BY HARLAN C. PEARSON.

THE NEW Governor, having taken the oath of office, was delivering his inaugural message to the legislature.

Beginning with the state finances, he was conscientiously covering all the subjects that his predecessors had introduced into this biennial document, from railroad rates to forest fires.

Before him was a glittering semicircle of men in gold-braided uniforms and women in gay gowns and bewildering hats; the brigadier-generals and colonels of the new governor's staff and the old governor's staff, with their ladies.

Another, wider semicircle, behind this zone of color, was composed of the members of the legislature, to whom the inaugural was supposed to be addressed. Some of them lolled or sprawled or sat bolt upright in their chairs; but more, dispossessed by the visitors of the day, stood, self-consciously, in the aisles or in the open space at the rear of the hall.

Some of the younger ones, sleek of hair, with new suits of clothes, aggressive neckties and *boutonnieres*, turned their backs frequently on the orating governor to scan the crowded gallery reserved for ladies.

Down in newspaper row the legislative reporters were taking it easy, for the inaugural was in type long since, awaiting only the message of "release," to greet the governor from the printed page as he left the state-house.

They, too, scanned the ladies' gallery—in search of copy, they would have said if pressed for an excuse—and for once Hal Butler actually found some there.

"George!" said he to his next neighbor, "look up in the hen-coop. Just this side of the middle pillar. See?"

George looked and grinned appreciatively.

"You saw her first. She belongs to you," he said.

So it was the "Under the Dome" column of gossip in *The Evening Watchman* that told the story; and the *Morning Mirror's* breezy description of the inauguration lacked this one touch.

Said *The Watchman*: "In the ladies' gallery to-day was one of the fair sex who can bring numerous witnesses to testify that she is not of those lilies of the field who toil not, neither do they spin. She must have arrived early, ahead of the crowd, for she had a choice seat in the front row. Following intelligently the progress of business, she evidently approved of the governor's message, for she nodded vigorously at its strong points. She could n't applaud as others did, for her hands were busily occupied with some kind of fancy work. Only when the chaplain prayed was her flying needle quiet, though under the spell of His Excellency's most eloquent passages it lagged a bit. Almost pausing, too, when the inaugural party entered and again when it departed with all the gay gowns in brilliant array. The Woman with the Knitting was, in fact, the one unique feature of this Inauguration."

The *Mirror* man was first in his seat next day and when Hal came in, with his usual rush to beat the speaker's gavel, his neighbor had something to communicate.

"You did n't scare her off, after all," said he. "I was afraid you would, but she is still here."

"She? Who?" asked Hal.

"Why, the Woman with the Knitting," replied Holland. "See her? Same place and same knitting."

Then the speaker and the clerks started up the legislative machinery and the newspaper men had no time for gossip if they were to keep pace with the routine.

Presently the pace slackened and Hal found a chance to slip in a word.

"I've got a clue," he informed Holland.

"To what?"

"To the Woman with the Knitting. When the clerk read the notice of a bill to be introduced by Mr. Choate of Hilton,

'to put a bounty on hedgehogs,' she stopped her work and smiled a smile that was a regular beam. So she's interested in either Choate or hedgehogs. Most likely Choate. Know him?"

"No. Look him up in the Blue Book when you get a chance."

This is what the Blue Book said: "Choate, John, of Hilton, Republican. B. in Hilton 1870, always lived there. Farmer. Educated public-schools. Married; no children. Congregationalist. Member of the Patrons of Husbandry."

That afternoon came the biennial lottery of the seat-drawing, a ceremony through which the newspaper men always sat for the purpose of getting acquainted with the new crop of legislators so as to be able to make the right hitch between new names and new faces.

Butler and Holland were on the alert when "Mr. Choate of Hilton" was called, but he proved to be the ordinary farmer from a back town, awkward in his new surroundings, blushing red from shyness, but clean and honest in face and manner. He had good luck in the lottery, drawing a seat on an aisle, directly in front of the speaker.

The little woman up in the gallery beamed more brightly than ever as she saw a page conduct the member from Hilton to so desirable a location; and he for his part turned and waved a joyful hand of greeting.

After that, during the long turmoil of the session, it was ever a source of relief to Butler and Holland to turn their eyes upward to the gallery, sure to see there a busy little woman, fingers twinkling among soft wools or gray yarns or white cloth, eyes not long diverted from the broad shoulders and brown hair of the member from Hilton.

One day Holland was absent, and Butler, in payment for doing the other's work as well as his own, brought in pretty Mrs. Butler to occupy the vacant seat.

As he could snatch time through the rush of the day he pointed out to her the leaders of the House and its freaks; the

oldest and the youngest members, the handsomest and the homeliest, the tallest and the shortest, the millionaire and the prize-fighter, the famous novelist and the infamous lobbyist.

And finally he told her about the Woman with the Knitting and directed her attention to the gallery seat beside the pillar. There Mrs. Butler looked long and with interest; with a gaze that would have been a stare, in fact, had the object of the scrutiny been aware of it.

But the Woman with the Knitting was intent, as usual, on her work and her husband; smiling, as her fingers flew, a vague little smile that came with her thoughts and seemed to veil her eyes.

Curiously enough, the same sort of a smile hovered over Mrs. Butler's face in unconscious response. Also, she turned a little pink and shot a stealthy glance at her husband; who, however, was busily transcribing the ardent utterances of a rural statesman with various and sundry grievances to air.

So she waited until the privacy of their own home enshrouded them before imparting to her husband certain information which he greeted with a long-drawn whistle.

"Say, old man," he observed to Holland next morning, "maybe it would be more polite of us not to stare so much at the Woman with the Knitting."

"What do you mean?" snapped Holland, with the grouch that usually follows a day off.

"Why, that work she is everlastingly doing is on baby things, my wife says."

"Baby things?"

"Yes. Things for a baby to wear, you know."

"Well, what if they are?" objected Holland. "What difference does it make what she's knitting anyway?"

"They're for her baby, you old numbskull. And they do n't know yet whether they can name it Solon or Capitola. Now do you see?"

Holland saw at last; and into his cynical, old bachelor eyes came a touch of

the mystical dreamfulness that the women's eyes had known the day before.

So it came about that the Woman with the Knitting figured no more in the columns of *The Watchman* and *The Mirror*; the member from Hilton was conscious of an increased kindness towards himself from Newspaper Row; and Holland once or twice lost an important point from a story because the flying needles in the gallery seemed to have hypnotized him.

Then came the bill to incorporate the United States Horse Improvement Association.

The member from Hilton had been honored at the outset of the session by appointment as chairman of the committee on agricultural affairs. Half a century before this was one of the "big" committees of the session and its chairmanship carried a good deal of responsibility and influence.

Back in the woods at Hilton they cherished the impression that it did still, and both Mr. Choate and his constituents were a good deal impressed with his importance when the committee list was published.

But as the session wore away and not one bill was referred to this committee on agricultural affairs, its chairman began to realize that probably he had been placed there to get him out of the way.

He did not like the idea a little bit, either. Up in Hilton there were so many statesmen in embryo that no man was ever allowed to come to the legislature more than once. This was Choate's sole chance to achieve fame, and, this was what worried him most, the Woman with the Knitting had absolute faith that he was going to do it.

The member from Hilton himself was not so sure. He grew uneasy; fidgeted in his seat; half rose from it once or twice when the waves of debate rolled inspiringly high over the subject of oleomargarine or forest preservation; then sank back again, angry at himself for his lack of courage.

The press row knew the symptoms and the word went round that the member from Hilton was due for a speech.

It came when the chairman of the committee on agricultural affairs introduced an act to incorporate the United States Horse Improvement Association, and moved its passage. Choate did well, better than his friends in the Row had expected, and the little woman in the gallery ceased her knitting for a much longer time than ever before during the session.

The member from Hilton paid eloquent tribute to man's best friend, the horse; told of the fine horses that had been bred in this state in the past; and enlarged upon what the United States Horse Improvement Association intended to do in the future in the way of stock farms, horse shows, etc.

The bill passed at once its first and second readings without opposition and went to the table to be printed in regular course. Choate of Hilton was inclined to consider himself quite a legislative leader, and his wife had the halls of Congress plainly pictured in her mind.

Their friends in Newspaper Row also were pleased, at first; but Holland's brow was clouded when he came in next morning.

"Have you looked up that bill Choate put in yesterday?" he asked of Butler.

"No; have n't had time yet," replied Butler. "Something in it?"

"Something in it? There's all hell in it!" replied Holland with appropriate heat. "The New York racing law with some additions has been sneaked into that bill. It just gives the state to this Horse Improvement Association. They can build race-tracks anywhere they like and do whatever they like on them."

"All right, then, let's show it up," proposed Butler, rather pleased at the idea of a good row with which to close the session.

"Show it up? Oh, yes, we'll show it up," answered Holland with scorn. "Why, before this bill went in the men

behind it had retained every law firm of any account in the state; and as near as I can find out had seen every newspaper proprietor. They've got my boss fixed good and strong, I know. He told me who are at the bottom of it—Blake and Waite, the Westerners. Yes, you and I will show it up, I do n't think."

"Quite a jump from that pair to Choate of Hilton," suggested Butler.

"That's what makes me so cussed mad," responded Holland. "Why did n't they let one of their own gang put in their dirty bill instead of fathering it on an honest farmer? If it passes and is known as the Choate law it means shame for him and his children and his children's children."

"Gee, but you're looking a long ways into the future," laughed Butler.

Holland laughed, too, after a moment. "I do n't know why I'm so worked up over this thing," he acknowledged, "but when I see that little woman knitting away up there, so full of love and pride for her husband, and then think of how these big thief lawyers are using him it makes me madder than if I was the fool myself. It makes no difference to any one else how big an ass I make of myself."

It was Butler's turn now to grow grave, as the thought of his wife at home came into his mind. "You're right, old man," he said, "it's a beastly shame; and you and I will fix it yet."

Then the speaker's gavel fell, and it was a case of all hustle and no talk for the newspaper men. But while their pencils flew, recording the proceedings automatically, each was doing a heap of thinking; and when adjournment came each had a plan in his head.

"I'll see Choate this noon," said Holland, "and tell him the truth about the bill."

"And I will send word to my wife to come up to the statehouse this afternoon," added Butler. "Maybe she can do something with the little woman up in the gallery."

So near was the session to final ad-

jourment that the whole capitol was thronged that afternoon with those interested in the fate of some of the measures in the great heap still awaiting disposition. Lobbyists were fully as numerous as legislators and apparently much more interested in the business in hand.

"Did you fetch him?" asked Butler, anxiously.

"I think so," answered Holland, "but wait and see."

Up in the gallery the crush was something fearful, but the Woman with the Knitting was promptly and proudly in her place; and soon, perhaps the door-keeper knew how it was done, Butler's little brown wife snuggled down beside her.

Butler, watching out of the corner of his eye, gave his wife a mental pat on the back as he saw how soon the two were chatting away as briskly as old friends.

"Pretty strong on the 'con.' game is that little girl, I guess," he said to himself, the while he recorded the opening routine of the afternoon.

The climax was not long in coming. The Choate Bill, not for a moment delayed at the printer's, came up in its turn to be ordered to a third reading, which would naturally come on the following day with the vote on its passage to follow.

But time was precious; there was no danger in sight; and up jumped a little city man in the front circle, right under the approving eyes of the big bosses.

The formal motion rattled off his tongue: "Mr. Speaker, I move you that the rules be so far suspended that this bill be read a third time by its title at the present time and put upon its passage."

"You hear the motion," the speaker took up the chain with perfunctory promptness, "those who are in favor of suspending the rules——"

"Mr. Speaker!" came a clear, insistent call from the member for Hilton.

The speaker glanced up in surprise and hesitated. But this was the man who reported the bill; he must be all right; and so he recognized:

"The gentleman from Hilton."

Holland smiled in reply to Butler's questioning look.

"He's all right, that boy," he said, "get ready your buckets, for here comes the deluge."

Up in the gallery the fingers in the knitting were still. The Woman leaned forward, her lips parted. "Oh, I'm so glad," she whispered to herself.

"Mr. Speaker," said the member from Hilton, "the bill now under consideration came from my committee and was reported by me with the recommendation that it ought to pass. When I made that motion I had an entirely mistaken idea of the bill. I say now that I hope the bill will not pass. With a pretense of innocence it cloaks vile evil. Its promoters and instigators have hoped to betray the people of this state without their knowledge; to rob them of their birth-right of honor and truth; to find in them a fresh field for debasing and demoralizing exploitation."

By this time there was hubbub in all parts of the house. The little man in the front row waved his hand in the air and cried piercingly: "Order, Mr. Speaker, order,"

"The gentleman from Hilton will suspend," proclaimed the speaker, "a point of order having been raised."

"My point of order is this, Mr. Speaker," said the little man, visibly swelling with the importance of the moment and the evident, though unspoken, approval of the bosses. "The gentleman from Hilton is making reckless, unfounded, libelous statements against gentlemen who are unable to defend themselves on the floor of this house, though we who know them know how unjust, how hideously unjust, these calumnies are. Mr. Speaker, when such action as this is attempted at such a stage in the life of a measure we who have had legislative experience know what to call it. We say that it is either a 'hold-up' or a 'sell-out.' And, Mr. Speaker, this house will stand

for neither. It will pass this bill without the vote of the gentleman of Hilton, whose cowardly attacks and base insinuations you will, Mr. Speaker, I hope, restrain."

The gentleman from Hilton seemed to require more than verbal restraint just then, for he had risen from his seat, stepped into the aisle and taken one long stride towards his defamer. Up in Hilton, as on the frontier, some words are fighting words and John Choate believed he had heard those words directed at him just then.

The house was in an uproar. The speaker broke the head of his gavel in frenzied pounding. The sergeant-at-arms tried in vain to remember where he had last seen the mace, official emblem of his authority.

But the tumult was stilled as suddenly as it had arisen. The little woman in the gallery had dropped her knitting and was leaning over the rail.

"John!" she called. "John!"

Choate of Hilton heard and hesitated, turned and resumed his seat. Others about him heard and saw and the story spread electrically over the house.

Presently there was a queer, questioning quiet abroad. The speaker, new gavel in hand, stood uncertain.

Holland wrote four words on a card and sent a page flying with it to Choate. On the instant the member from Hilton rose.

"Mr. Speaker, I move that this bill be indefinitely postponed," he said.

There was a wriggle of protest around the semi-circle in front of the speaker, but from all parts of the hall came cries of "Question! Question!"

The speaker put the motion and with a roar that was heard for a block the house vindicated John Choate of Hilton.

Even as the shout arose, and before the speaker announced the result, there was a little stir in the gallery and two seats in the front row were vacant.

For the first time during the session the Woman with the Knitting had left her post before adjournment.

Holland and Butler exchanged congratulations in a corner at the Press Club that evening.

"Lucky my wife was there," said Butler. "Case of hustle home, now I tell you. But they're all doing well, even Papa Choate."

"What is it?" asked Holland.

"Boy. Ten pounds. And they've named him Holland Choate."

"Appropriate to the day anyhow. Sounds like holler and vote," said the godfather with a pretense at gruffness.

But presently his cigar went out unheeded as he thought with an inward smile of how little Holler and Vote was probably justifying his name just then, somewhere down the Avenue.

HARLAN C. PEARSON.

Concord, N. H.



RICHES OF THE WORLD.

Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.



Bengough, in Chicago Public.

ON THE NEW REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.



Lovey, in Salt Lake Herald.

UNANIMOUS.



Carter, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

He finds there is one bird he cannot boss—the independent American eagle. He and his tame geese find the times precarious—the elephant and the tiger are as restless as the eagle.



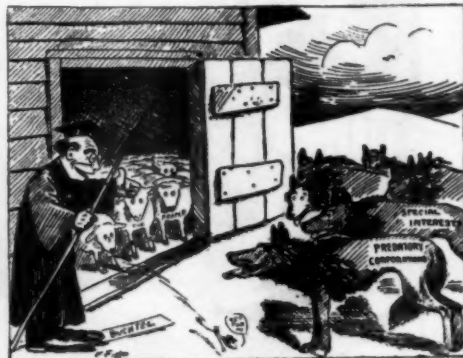
From Willshire's Magazine.

"TWO MIGHTY HUNTERS."



Bush, in New York World.

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.



Finch, in Denver Rocky Mountain News.

THE UNFAITHFUL SHEPHERD.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.*

THE COLORADO CONFLICT AND ITS GRAVE SIGNIFICANCE.

The Clear-Out Issue Between Democracy and Plutocracy.

THE CONFLICT in Colorado is one of the most momentous state elections in recent decades. Here the issue between popular rule and reactionary class domination and privileged interests is clearly drawn—something that is rare indeed since the trusts and corporations have actively entered politics. There could be no shadow of doubt as to the result in the coming struggle being a splendid triumph for the fundamental principles of free government, barring intimidation, ballot-box stuffing and other species of fraud, were it not for the untimely and unfortunate division of those who should stand shoulder to shoulder in the present great struggle for the wresting of the government from as corrupt, revolutionary, despotic and essentially lawless a *régime* as has ever disgraced a commonwealth of the New World; a *régime* in which a brutal militia, acting as the servant of special interests, trampled upon popular rights in a manner that twenty-five years ago would have been thought impossible of toleration in any state of the Union; a *régime* in which these high-handed measures were not only condoned but upheld by the chief executive acting as a tool for the same privileged

interests; a *régime*, furthermore, in which the judiciary of the state has arrogated to itself powers and rights never before recognized in America and which strike at the foundation of free government.

During recent years the corrupt public-service companies of Colorado and certain other plutocratic interests have gained a strong hold on the Democratic party, especially in Denver, where Mayor Speer and his corrupt machine worked hand in glove with the equally corrupt Republican organization to further in every way possible the interests of the public utility trust of Denver, headed by William G. Evans.

At the last spring election the public-service companies determined by aid of their tools in the two parties to carry elections that would give them franchises worth millions upon millions of dollars, in spite of the apparent fact that a majority of the people were opposed to the giving away of these enormously valuable assets of the city—assets which in a few years could easily be made to pay all the taxes of Denver. By high-handed, brazen and indefensible methods the united rings compassed their ends, but not without having recourse to corrupt practices, such as having property deeded to men so as to get votes that

*EXPLANATORY NOTE.—This month we depart somewhat from our custom of noticing the chief events of vital interest in the happenings of the world, in order to give special attention to different phases of the great and irrepressible conflict that is being waged in the United States between democracy and plutocracy, between the friends of free institutions and powerful privileged interests seeking by corrupt and flagrantly brazen methods to wrest government from the real control of the people and lodge it with the money-controlled machine for the further enrichment and enthronement of the feudalism of privilege. The present conflict is vital to the very life of republican institutions. It is not a party question. The circumstance that the machinery of the Republican party has in many states been more completely captured by the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies than has that of the Democratic party is merely an incidental fact. The great conflict is a conflict between principles. Thus we find Senator La Follette and Winston Churchill, those staunch Republicans, doing as valiant service in battling against the corrupt influence of the railways and other privileged interests as are any of the leading spirits among the

progressive Democrats. While on the other hand the Ryan, Belmont, McClellan, Jerome and Parker brand of Democracy in New York State represents all that is most odious in the corrupt domination of privileged interests. In Pennsylvania the battle is being carried on between the Lincoln Republicans and the corporation-controlled Republican machine. And so we find everywhere the new alignment or the rearranging of the forces for the great pending struggle—a struggle that will within the next few years determine whether the republic is to remain a democratic or free government or become a feudalism of privileged interests, masquerading under the form of an aristocratic republic.

We desire also to call attention to the addition of Mr. Allan L. Benson and Professor Frank Parsons to our regular contributing editorial force for *The Mirror of the Present*; and in answer to many inquiries we wish to state that the Editor of *THE ARENA* is responsible for all unsigned articles in the body of the magazine, whether appearing in *The Mirror of the Present*, the Book Review department, or elsewhere. All the contributions by Mr. Benson and Professor Parsons will be signed.—Editor of *THE ARENA*.

could not rightfully be cast, whereupon the friends of good government immediately instituted proceedings to compel a recount of the ballots and to punish those who had flagrantly violated the laws. But the Speer or corporation Democratic organization was powerless to prevent this without the aid of the corporation-owned Republican party; so the Supreme Court promptly came to the aid of the grafters and criminals by thwarting the legal course of Judges Johnson and Mullins. When Judge Lindsey took up the case there was a general flight of the "safe and sane" conservative rascals, for the people had become so aroused that there were signs of weakening on the part of some of the officials whose influence had heretofore been cast solidly with the corporations. This was the situation when the decent or true Democrats of Denver, and all over Colorado, demanded that once and for all the grafters and corrupt corporation-ruled bosses and machines should be cast out of the Democratic organization.

Colorado Democracy Drives The Corruptionists and Grafters From The Party.

The brave words of Mr. Bryan when denouncing the notorious corporation tool, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, in which he said: "If the Democratic party has not virtue enough to spew out those who traffic in politics for the advantage of the corporations to which they belong, it does not deserve victory, nor can it hope to achieve it," were taken as the key-note by the democratic Democrats of Colorado.

Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in Denver by the forces of clean and honest government, and they culminated in a rousing Democratic rally shortly before the meeting of the state convention. At this great gathering, which represented a combination of the brains, the culture and the conscience of Denver Democracy, resolutions were carried demanding the absolute repudiation of the tools of the corporations and the corruptionists that had long disgraced the party and shamed the government of the state. The reorganized Democracy named many of the strongest and ablest men of Colorado as its delegates to the state convention, while Mayor Speer and the corporation or money-controlled machine prepared to battle for admission as the regular representatives of the party from Denver.

At first the discredited Mayor and his henchmen manifested little fear. They apparently thought that money could do anything, and they knew how alarmed and aroused were the immensely rich public-service corporations of Denver and of Colorado and how liberally and freely they would gladly contribute to anything that would destroy the rising tide of pure democracy. Later, however, they became alarmed, as from all parts of the state came news of the rallying of the people to the standard of pure government and genuine democracy.

The convention met, and it was grandly representative of the best manhood of the state. It rose splendidly to the august demands of the hour and by an overwhelming vote of 561 to 163 it repudiated the Evans-Speer machine Democracy and recognized and seated the reorganized Democracy of Denver.

The Platform and The Ticket.

Fine as was the action of the state convention in casting out the traitors who were plutocracy's minions and beneficiaries, this was but the first work in a convention marked by a degree of statesmanship and fidelity to the fundamental principles of popular government that would have rejoiced the heart of Jefferson and the fathers of the Republic. The platform adopted was one upon which Jefferson and Lincoln would have been proud to stand, judging from the lives, teachings and action of these great statesmen of the people. It was a platform fully abreast of the times and it absolutely committed the party not only to clean and honest government, but to the fundamental principles of popular rule, which have been imperilled in Colorado as in no other state in the Republic. It demanded the initiative and referendum; direct primary laws; the election of United States Senators by direct vote; municipal ownership of public utilities; the abolition, by constitutional amendment if necessary, of the kingly prerogatives arrogated by the courts; and the limitation of the power of the courts to punish for contempt. It demanded the creation of a railroad commission with a membership elected by the people, the abolition of passes, and the abolition of the lobby. It denounced the card-system in mining camps as an indefensible attack on the integrity of labor, and declared that there can be no alliance with corporations that exploit the people. It demand-

ed that the corporations shall file statements with the Secretary of State, and pledged laws making it a felony for corporations to contribute to campaign funds. It denounced in unmeasured terms the notorious decisions of the Supreme Court, made, as the convention averred, "as the price paid for the contribution of public and semi-public corporations to the campaign funds of the Republican party." So excellent is the arraignment of the amazing action of the Supreme Court that we quote at length from the platform:

"These decisions have abolished the writ of *habeas corpus*, guaranteed by our state constitution and the constitution of every state in the Union, the common heritage of English-speaking people since the right to the writ was wrested from King John, centuries ago.

"These decisions have set up a returning board with power to overthrow the will of the people as expressed at the polls upon the false and trivial excuse that they were following the opinion of a court of inferior jurisdiction.

"These judges have set themselves upon a throne; they have taken charge of the elections; they have installed a governor and changed majorities in the senate and in the general assembly; they have named two of their own associates; they have abolished the right of trial by jury and have deprived men of both liberty and property without due or any process of law; their attempt to strike down the freedom of the press is now a pending question before the Supreme Court of the United States; they have by the invention of a so-called high prerogative writ, the claimed right of which is based upon kingly power, undertaken to prohibit the judges of other courts, elected by the people, from administering the laws; they are a menace to liberty, not only in the State of Colorado, but a danger to the principles of liberty everywhere.

"The decisions of a majority of this court have nullified the twentieth amendment to the constitution—an amendment adopted by the people at the polls by an overwhelming majority and with the indorsement of both political parties. We proclaim without fear of contradiction that no other court in an American state has ever denied the power of the people to amend a constitution which the people made, and which only exists by virtue of the people's votes.

"The security of life, liberty and property, the peace and safety of the people and the

orderly conduct of the affairs of state, of communities and of individuals can only be maintained by a judiciary which commands and merits the confidence and respect of the people. The conduct of a majority of the Supreme Court has undermined this confidence and respect."

The platform rings true throughout and the demands are demands that in our judgment are the most pressing and fundamental immediate reforms called for in Colorado if the underlying principles of free government are to be maintained and the rights of the people are to be preserved from the aggressions of a lawless and despotic plutocracy operating through conscienceless tools.

It may be argued that the platform does not go far enough in certain directions, and there are doubtless tens of thousands of citizens in Colorado who feel that it should have been even more radical than it is; yet two facts must be taken into consideration: In the first place, all peaceful or evolutionary reform in democratic government which is opposed by powerful and entrenched interests is possible only by the step-by-step method and by methods which preserve intact the democratic form, method and spirit in government, or those things which vitally differentiate a democracy from a class-ruled government.

Now by the adoption of the initiative and referendum, which is one of the cardinal pledges of this platform, and by the submission and advocacy of an admirable Direct-Legislation constitutional amendment, which the party has incorporated in its platform, Colorado would place herself side by side with Oregon and make it possible for citizens of all shades of political belief to accomplish any legislation that they might be able to convince the majority of the electorate was just or necessary. The adoption of such measures as this in the present crisis we believe must precede the possibility of carrying into effect in a peaceable manner any more radical programme that may be proposed or desired by the people.

The public-ownership of public utilities would serve to break the power of the money-controlled machine and the corporations, as would also direct primaries and the direct election of United States Senators, and other reforms demanded. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a programme possible of success at the present crisis that would strike more

effective blows against the corrupt domination of wealth and render possible orderly, constitutional and peaceable advance along radical lines than that adopted by this convention.

The ticket nominated, judging from the reports of those in whom we place great confidence, is on the whole an admirable one and one composed of nominees who would faithfully strive to carry out the pledges of the convention.

In his speech accepting the nomination Governor Adams, who was robbed of the office to which the people elected him through the action of the Supreme Court and who has now been renominated for Governor, made clear his position in regard to the corporation influences in the Democratic party in the following unequivocal utterance:

"The Democratic party must realize that it cannot cure graft as long as it wishes to secure some of the plunder for its side. No cattle-thief was ever convicted by a jury that had eaten a part of the beef. The corporations have tainted politics by contributing to all parties. Lincoln said that the Union could not exist half slave and half free. Neither can the Democracy exist half for the corporations and half for the people.

"To every plank in the noble platform you have heard we subscribe. It is a new Declaration of Independence—the new Democracy's challenge to misrule and corruption. Give us judges that are true, officials that are true, a legislature that is true, and the people and not the corporations will reign once more in the capitol."

The Republican Party Abjectly Surrenders to The Throne Powers.

While the Democratic party thus placed itself squarely in the van of progress, the Republican party of Colorado afforded one of the most pitiable spectacles seen in recent years of abject surrender to the notorious corporations that have so disgraced the state and exploited the people. It even went to an extreme that few self-respecting citizens believed would be possible, when it bowed to the autocratic dictation of William G. Evans, the great public-utility boss of Denver, and placed the constitution-defying Judge Gabbert on the ticket. The respectable element of the Republican convention, and, indeed, all who cherished any sincere regard for the sanctity of free institutions, respect for the

courts and regard for constitutional guarantees, fought against the nomination of Gabbert; but the corporation chiefs, with the arrogant insolence that always characterizes an irresponsible autocracy, insisted on their will becoming the law for the party, and Gabbert became the nominee, whereupon the head of the Republican ticket, shortly after the nomination, resigned from the place to which he had been nominated. It was given out that his withdrawal was due to ill health, but the statement made that the real cause of the resignation was the placing of Gabbert on the ticket was doubtless the true reason of Mr. Stewart's withdrawal. Indeed, his letter of resignation leaves little doubt on this point.

Consternation reigned in the Republican camp when Stewart refused to run with Gabbert. One after another the various Republicans who were considered available for candidates were sounded, but all refused to run. Then the notorious public-service magnate who was also the biggest boss in the Republican party of Colorado insisted on Chancellor H. A. Buchtel of the Denver University becoming the figure-head. *The Rocky Mountain Daily News* in commenting on the dilemma of the Republican party owing to the refusal of Stewart to run with Gabbert, said:

"For more than three days the representatives of the allied corporations of Colorado have hawked the nomination about the state and have offered it to almost every prominent Republican who would consent to wear a corporation collar. Only yesterday afternoon, Whitney Newton, former state treasurer, rejected it as a thing unclean. Governor McDonald, George W. Cook and Robert W. Bonyng, subservient servants of the machine, refused it. Then Chancellor Buchtel was offered the place, and at the urgent solicitation of William G. Evans accepted it."

In the acceptance of this office by Rev. Mr. Buchtel at the dictation of Boss Evans we see another instance of the degrading and demoralizing influence of predatory and tainted wealth over prominent educators and divines since the corrupt and lawless plutocracy has set out deliberately and determinedly to drug the conscience of church and school and prevent these great engines of civilization from longer being aggressive forces for honesty, probity and morality. Dr. Buchtel has been a distinguished divine in the Methodist church, but he has, at least since he accepted the po-

sition as Chancellor of Denver University, been a personal friend of Evans, and the present instance is by no means the first time that he has shown himself willing to bow to the dictation of the odious boss in a way that amazed and humiliated many of his friends who place civic righteousness and the principles of free government above the wealth of unscrupulous public-service magnates and monopolists.

"It is not," observes the *News*, "the first time that Chancellor Buchtel has been subjected to censure because of his desire to advance the interests of his friend Evans, who is president of the board of trustees of the university. During the Peabody campaign, a young student named Reed was practically driven from college because he had criticized the war governor. Later, Professor Roberts was sent to Europe, ostensibly as a representative of the university, but in reality as the paid man of William G. Evans to secure data which Evans might use in his fight against municipal ownership in this city. Roberts was quickly exposed and forced into retirement, but not before he had done the university serious damage."

The Division in The Radical Forces Threatens The Success of The People.

If all the progressive citizens who sincerely desire to see juster social conditions and clean and honest government prevail, should unite upon this ticket, pledged to those fundamental first requisites of social progress, there would be little or no doubt as to the result, notwithstanding the vast corruption fund that will in all probability be contributed by the smelter-trust, the railways and other public-service bodies and all the exploiting and oppressing predatory bands which have so long flourished through plundering the people, oppressing labor and defeating the expressed will of the people at the polls; for no one appreciates more keenly the real meaning of the present struggle between democracy and plutocracy than the master-spirits in the feudalism of wealth.

On the other hand, and unhappily, a large proportion of the liberal and truly democratic citizens do not, it seems to us, appreciate the extreme gravity of the present situation and the true significance of the desperate struggle that is being waged. Their hearts are right,

their convictions and ideals are noble, but we question the wisdom of their conclusions at the present crucial hour. Thus, while the plutocracy is a unit, the reformers are divided.

The candidacy of Judge Lindsey, at this distance from the fighting center, appears inexplicable, especially since a short time before he announced himself as an independent candidate he wrote to Governor Adams stating that he regarded the latter as the logical candidate and indicating, in tenor if not in exact words, that he would support Mr. Adams if the latter was nominated. From the press dispatches which we have seen it would appear that the only possible result of Judge Lindsey's candidacy at the present time, since the Democratic party has adopted a platform demanding the great reforms that the Judge himself regards as of paramount importance, while furthermore it has cast out the plutocratic and machine element, would be to place in jeopardy the cause of the people as represented by the radical democracy of Colorado and to render reasonably certain the election of the odious corporation ticket representing all the Judge has so ably, fearlessly and nobly fought. Personally we have the most absolute belief in the integrity, sincerity and probity of Judge Lindsey, but we know how often men who are not practical politicians have been led by false and designing friends to enter contests in which the candidates themselves have been moved only by the highest motives, but, acting under a mistaken apprehension of the facts, their candidacy has operated so as to defeat the cause of the people and to set back the hands on the dial of progress, making the only real result of their action the defeat of the very cause they hoped to advance. We fear that in this instance Judge Lindsey may have been thus led to make a mistake detrimental if not indeed fatal to the immediate victory of the cause of popular government and civic righteousness. In saying this we do not for a moment wish to cast any reflection upon the character, ideals or impulses of the Judge. Knowing as we do his lofty patriotism and rectitude of purpose, we cannot refrain from hoping that he will withdraw in favor of Governor Adams before the election, for the good of the people's cause.

The second and doubtless the gravest element of danger is found in the votes that will be cast for the Socialist ticket. The Socialists are men of conscience and conviction. They are for the most part high-minded, earnest,

sincere patriots and are desirous of doing only that which they conceive will most rapidly inaugurate a juster social order. Moreover, in the pending election they are naturally strongly swayed by sentimental reasons. They have been most shamefully treated by the ruling powers of Colorado. Not only the iniquitous Republican government, but the odious Speer-corporation-Democratic machine of Denver, has been equally culpable; but this machine and its adherents were as thoroughly repudiated by the Democratic convention, according to all the newspaper reports we have seen, as was the indefensible, unjust and essentially lawless course of the judicial, executive and legislative departments of Colorado under Republican domination. This is an important fact that it seems to us the Socialists should not lose sight of. That they justly feel they have a special grievance goes without saying. Their leaders have been denied the rights supposed to be guaranteed to the humblest citizen accused of a crime. They were shamefully kidnapped and taken out of the state without due process of law, and they have been brutally and inhumanly treated—treated in a manner worse than would have been justified if they had been found guilty of the crimes charged. But they have not only at the present writing not been convicted of any crime, but every attempt on the part of the accused to obtain an early trial has been frustrated.

The laboring men of Colorado, since the triumph of the feudalism of corrupt wealth, have been shamefully treated by the discredited Peabody and the still more brutal and odious Bell; while the assaults on the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens and the attempt to prevent the triumph of pure government by the Supreme Court have all served to arouse and exasperate labor's forces. Moreover, the discredited Speer administration of Denver has broken up the open-air Socialist meetings and arrested the leaders. These and other things done by the agents of plutocracy have aroused the Socialists and they are striving to secure as great a vote as possible as a protest against the wrongs they have endured. We understand their feelings and thoroughly sympathize with their righteous indignation, and if the Democratic party had not driven the plutocracy out of its ranks, bag and baggage, repudiating its corrupt rule and lawless deeds; if it had not placed itself clearly in favor of those first great fundamental

reforms which are not only vital to free government but essential to the peaceful triumph of any new political ideals or fundamental advance movement; and if it had not made a clear-cut issue of the despotic action of the Supreme Court, declaring most unequivocally against the assault on the freedom of the press and the rights of the individual which the Republican party has endorsed and upheld by nominating the American Jeffreys, Gabbert, to again disgrace the bench, we could fully sympathize with the Socialists in their attempt to secure as large a vote as possible. But noble and rare in modern politics as is the fine sentiment of loyalty to their leaders, in whom they have confidence and whom they believe to be the victims of an infamous plot, and important as it is on ordinary occasions for men to stand squarely for the whole creed they believe to be redemptive in character, there are hours of supreme peril in government when the highest wisdom, whether viewed from the standpoint of partisan, patriot or citizen, dictates the union with others for the preservation or maintenance of the vital groundwork or fundamental principles without the enjoyment of which no peaceable social, economic or political revolution is possible; and we know of no instance in modern times where the call is so clear for the union of all friends of fundamental democracy against the enemies of free discussion, a free press and a free government as in the present titanic battle in Colorado.

Why The Union of All Friends of Free Government is Imperatively Demanded.

The conditions at the present time in Colorado are exceptional and call for exceptional wisdom on the part of all friends of pure democracy and true social advance. The vital principles over which the Democrats and Republicans are fighting this year in Colorado affect no persons more intimately than the Socialists. This is a fact that no thoughtful Socialist can afford to ignore, and that it is the case will, we think, be perfectly apparent if we consider some important facts involved.

In the first place, the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens are cardinal issues. To this and to every other plank of the platform Governor Adams has given his enthusiastic and unreserved adherence, whereas if Gabbert and the Republican ticket are

electd it will be accepted as a triumph for the reactionary despotism that has striven to destroy the freedom of the press, free speech and the just rights of the citizens. If these fundamental principles of free government are overthrown, as it is perfectly apparent is the settled determination of the plutocracy, there will be no more hope for the Socialists to achieve a peaceful or constitutional victory for their principles or ideals than would be the case if they dwelt in Russia. Let the plutocracy triumph in this clear-cut battle with radical democracy, and nothing will be easier than the accomplishment of that which the despotism of privileged wealth so fondly desires to accomplish—the outlawing of Socialist papers, under one pretext or another, and the harassing of all Socialist educational propaganda absolutely essential to the spread of the tenets. Now the Democratic party and its candidates are pledged to destroy root and branch the destructive attempts on the freedom of the press and the rights of the citizens which have been so brazenly put forth by the governmental friends of plutocracy in Colorado and which have been endorsed by the corporation-owned Republican convention by the attempt to force Gabbert again on the people.

Moreover, the Democratic party proposes to go further and to enact measures that will serve to render it forever impossible for the courts to return to the despotism of the Stuarts for precedents in furthering the conspiracy of plutocracy against free government. Now the triumph of the Democratic programme which will achieve these things will benefit no class of citizens more than the Socialists. The triumph of the Republican party will mean the practical outlawing of all Socialists, as it will be everywhere taken as an endorsement of the Peabody-Bell-Gabbert reactionary and despotic régime, while it will rivet the despotism of the trusts and corporations on Colorado and compel weary years of fighting to emancipate the exploited toilers and wealth-consumers from their Egyptian task-masters.

The Democratic party is pledged to the initiative and referendum. Many of the most thoughtful Socialists fully appreciate the vital importance of these measures. Others do not, we think, realize the fact that until the despotism of corporate wealth acting through corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines is destroyed, as it can only be destroyed by Direct-Legislation, any victory by

Socialists would be rendered practically impossible by the all-powerful machine-dominated régime sustained by plutocracy; while once obtain Direct-Legislation, and the people have it in their power to obtain and enjoy any reform or progressive measure or system desired by the majority of the electors. And the Socialists no less than the progressive Democrats are certainly democratic enough not to wish to triumph until their victory will express the desire of the majority of the electorate. Hence we can conceive of nothing at the present stage of the movement so vitally important for the Socialists as the securing of Direct-Legislation, which would remove the insurmountable barrier now raised against the achievement by the people of anything antagonistic to the advancing feudalism of wealth.

Moreover, no class of citizens is more vitally interested than the Socialists in overthrowing the reign of corruption and political debauchery inaugurated by the plutocracy, which renders honest elections well-nigh impossible.

Now the coming election affords the opportunity for the people of Colorado to utterly overthrow the despotism of corrupt wealth. It affords the opportunity of redeeming the state and settling forever the seal of a people's righteous condemnation on the shameful attempts to overthrow constitutional government, trample under foot the rights of the people and establish a despotism as autocratic as that which prevails in Russia, as has been attempted and is further determined upon by the corporation-owned and controlled Republican party of Colorado. The opportunity is offered to secure those absolutely vital rights and measures for all the people which must obtain before the Socialists can hope for triumph,—free speech, a free press, the rights of individual citizens, and Direct-Legislation. And by a union of all friends of democratic institutions in this crucial moment a splendid victory can be won; but by division, though a vast majority of the citizens may condemn the despotism and corruption of corporation rule, the enemies of the people will triumph and in so far as Colorado is concerned the day of free government itself will be, for a season at least, a thing of the past; and the victory thus won will retard the cause of justice and reform, not only in Colorado, but throughout the nation.

Thus, for example, if four-sixths of all the votes polled are cast by the friends of free

government, still the bosses and corruptionists may easily win the day, as will be seen by the following: Let us suppose that Judge Lindsey received one-sixth of the votes, the Socialists a fraction over one-sixth of the votes, and the radical democracy a few votes less than two-sixths, while the corporation ticket secured two-sixths of the votes cast. Although four-sixths of the voters opposed corporation rule, yet the corporations would carry the day.

On the other hand, if all the friends of free government unite at this election they can overthrow the corrupt and oppressive rule of the corporations, rendering impossible any further assault on a free press, free speech and the rights of the individual, giving the people the opportunity to enact a Direct-Legislation constitutional amendment, and enthroning the people once more in the seat of power; while under such conditions it will be

perfectly easy for any party or cause to triumph in the future, where its adherents have convinced the majority of the electorate in regard to the wisdom of its claims.

In this great crucial hour, when the rights of a free press, of the individual and of popular rule are in the balance, we believe it is the high and sacred duty of all lovers of freedom and social advance to unite for the election of the only people's ticket which apparently has any reasonable chance of success at this election. To do this will not, it seems to us, mean the sacrifice of any principle, but rather the exercise of wisdom in accomplishing a fundamental victory in the only way in which a victory can be hoped for at the present time. Not to unite will result in no party of progress triumphing and will insure a condition of oppression, lawlessness and despotism that would strike at the very vitals of free institutions.

HENRY CABOT LODGE AS AN APOSTLE OF THE AUTOCRATIC MONEY-CONTROLLED MACHINE AND THE FOE OF POPULAR RULE.

Senator Lodge: A Man of Wealth and Education.

SENATOR LODGE, who has been aptly termed "the big boss of Massachusetts politics," is a man of wealth and education. The Boston *Herald* in an illustrated article on the millionaires of the Senate, published over a year ago, credited him with being worth four million dollars. But whether this estimate was correct or not, he is a man of wealth and of aristocratic and reactionary tendencies. We do not call to mind a single instance in recent years when it has been of vital importance to the privileged interests that are corrupting government and fattening off of the sustenance of the wealth-creators that his influence be cast for them, when he was found defending the people against the aggressions of privileged interests, or, indeed, when he has not been found standing shoulder to shoulder with Aldrich, Spooner, Elkins, Depew, Platt, Dryden, Penrose, Knox and other henchmen of the public-service corporations, trusts and privileged monopolies. At times where the interests of the plutocracy are not seriously threatened, it is helpful rather than otherwise

to the masters of the bosses and the money-controlled machine that he, as well as others who serve the "interests," should make a brave show of defending the people against the aggressions of the criminal rich. This is a part of the game that has been so long played by the Wall-street gamblers and the trust and public-service magnates that they seem to think it can be successfully played indefinitely.

But Mr. Lodge is also a man of education and culture.

Senator Lodge's Fatal Choice After Entering Political Life.

In his Harvard days Mr. Lodge was considered a young man with strong leanings toward independence of thought and action, and at that time, if we are not mistaken, he was not only a free-trader in sentiment but a member of the Cobden Club. Certain it is that he displayed a freedom from the trammels of sordid commercialism that gave his friends grounds to hope that the "scholar in politics," as he was often termed, would develop into far more than a machine politician and an autocratic boss whose concern for privileged

interests might well have excited the admiration of a Quay.

In those days we confess we shared the hopes of many other citizens, that Mr. Lodge might in a humbler but no less worthy manner sustain the high record of Massachusetts for true statesmanship—a record made glorious by Webster, Sumner and Hoar. But when the test came Senator Lodge chose to become a machine politician who should depend upon the privileged interests, as do all the bosses of the money-controlled machines, rather than upon the people for the sources of strength.

We well remember how fiercely Henry Cabot Lodge fought the nomination of James G. Blaine in the eighties and how he made common cause with the Mugwumps until after the nomination of Mr. Blaine. Then he became a sphinx for a time, and it was hoped by many of his friends that though he was then the leader of the party in Massachusetts, he would refuse to stultify himself by supporting the man he had so bitterly denounced and opposed as unfit for the high office to which he aspired. It was not until the night of the Republican ratification meeting in Tremont Temple, after the nomination, that Mr. Lodge definitely announced his decision to work for the election of the man he had regarded as so thoroughly unfit to be President of the United States. We were present at that memorable meeting and were satisfied that night that Mr. Lodge had made the momentous choice, that henceforth he would be a machine politician fighting for the success of the machine and the interests that alone made the machine all-powerful, rather than be a true statesman who placed the interests and concern of the people above all other considerations. We have never had reason to change our opinion from that hour.

Mr. Lodge's Open Opposition to Popular Rule.

In his oration at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town of Brookline, Senator Lodge amazed his friends by the most astounding exhibition of ignorance or something worse in regard to a great issue that it has been our lot to hear.

The destruction of the corrupt lobby and the equally corrupt money-controlled political machine in Oregon, brought about by the people of that state when they embedded an honest and practical Direct-Legislation amendment in their constitution, has alarmed the

corporations, the criminal rich and their tools and servants more than anything that has transpired in American political life in recent years. The secret of the corruption that has become so giant-like in our government, no less than of the power of the trusts and public-service corporations, which enables them to defeat any really fundamental or effective legislation offered to curb the rapacity of privileged interests or destroy the advancing peril of lawless corporations, lies, as no one knows better than the princes of privilege and their political servants, in the money-controlled political machine. Anything that will destroy the autocratic power of the boss and the machine and make the people the real sovereigns by placing in their hands the power to veto the acts of men who have been entrusted with representative power but who have refused to carry out the desires of their constituents or to represent them, necessarily strikes a fatal blow at the unboly alliance of the corporation interests with the boss and the machine. No one knows this better than the aides and allies of the corporations in the high places of our government, and Senator Lodge, speaking in the interests of the aristocracy of privileged wealth and political bosses, attacked Direct-Legislation in his Brookline address.

This was not to be wondered at, in view of the triumph of the people's rule over the bosses and their masters in Oregon under Direct-Legislation; for it must be remembered that so long as the people had no power to compel their representatives to represent their own interests in Oregon, they vainly strove year after year to get effective laws passed to meet crying evils of the times. In vain did they strive to secure primary election laws; to secure local option; to gain home-rule for their cities and towns; and to compel the great public-service companies to pay a small portion of the taxes raised for carrying on the government. The bosses and the machine refused to allow any primary law to be enacted giving the people power to select such representatives as they desired. The bosses, the liquor interests and their lobby successfully opposed the local option law demanded by the people. The public-service companies and the bosses refused to allow the cities and towns to enjoy home-rule; and the public-service companies, aided by the political machines and their lobbies, year by year prevented the enactment of laws that would com-

pel them to pay a just portion of the taxes. So year by year the people of Oregon, as is the case to-day in Massachusetts and in various other commonwealths, vainly strove to secure the blessings of a truly representative government. The feudalism of wealth, by grace of the boss and the machine, ruled the commonwealth. When, however, the Oregon electorate succeeded in placing in the constitution a practical Direct-Legislation amendment, giving to the people the powers of self-government—the powers which differentiate a democratic republic from a class-ruled land—the people secured every one of these needed measures by popular enactment.

Senator Lodge was addressing the citizens of Brookline, the town that for two hundred years has been under the New England town-meeting or Direct-Legislation; a town of over 24,000 inhabitants, which is not only the wealthiest town in the land but is recognized as the model municipality of New England; so clearly he could not attack Direct-Legislation for town government. But after admitting the excellence of this form of government before the people that gloried in direct rule, he next attacked Direct-Legislation for state and nation, using these words:

"On the other hand the methods of the town-meeting should never be permitted to trench upon the representative government of state or nation. . . . The essence of representative government is responsibility, and when that responsibility ceases representative government becomes anarchy and we are fairly on our way to such scenes as were enacted during the French Revolution, when the Paris mob, breaking into the Assembly or Convention, dictated the passage of laws. The control of the electors over the representative is direct, and if he does not satisfy them he can be replaced, but it is not to be forgotten that he represents not merely the people of his own district but in due proportion the people of the entire state. If responsibility is taken from him by compelling him to vote for measures solely because they have secured a certain number of petitioners, or if he is at liberty to refer measures of all sorts to popular vote, he ceases to be a representative and becomes a mere machine of record. When responsibility vanishes representative government is at an end and all the safeguards of debate and discussion, of deliberate action, of amendment or compromise, are gone for-

ever, legislative anarchy would ensue, and we might easily find ourselves in a position where the mob of a single large city would dominate legislation and laws would be thrust upon us ruinous to the state itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state."

Had not this oration been read from manuscript, and had not Senator Lodge previously furnished advance copies to the Boston papers, where, in the case of the *Boston Transcript*, the oration was published *verbatim*, we should have been inclined to regard the above utterances as incredible coming from an United States Senator. They not only grossly insulted the intelligence of all persons present, assuming that they were ignorant of a subject which every reasonably intelligent person to-day is supposed to be acquainted with, but the amazing statements were so clearly false as to be susceptible of easy refutation, making the recklessness displayed almost beyond belief. To prove the truth of this contention it is only necessary briefly to notice the assertions one by one.

"The methods of the town-meeting," says the Senator, "should never be permitted to trench upon the representative government of state or nation. . . . The essence of representative government is responsibility, and when that responsibility ceases representative government becomes anarchy and we are fairly on our way to such scenes as were enacted during the French Revolution, when the Paris mob, breaking into the Assembly or Convention, dictated the passage of laws."

Senator Lodge here opposes Direct-Legislation, first, because he claims it is an attempt to interfere with the responsibility of the representatives of the people on the part of those who have sent their servants to represent them; and, secondly, he claims it is a breeder of anarchy and mob-rule.

In the first place, the question arises, Who are the persons who ask to have a voice ere a measure of vital importance to the citizens becomes a law? Are they a special class, a privileged few, seeking some selfish advantage and thus scheming to prevent the legislator from representing his masters or sovereigns, the people? No. Direct-Legislation is merely a provision by which the principals or the masters of the representatives provide for their own protection against any possible ignorance or corruption on the part of their representatives. Who are the people's servants elected

to represent? The people or the corporations whose interests are opposite to the people's well-being? If they are elected to represent the people, and then defy their wishes, do they represent or misrepresent them? Perhaps nothing better exposes the sophistry of this first contention than the following passage from the *Direct-Legislation Primer*:

"The Referendum takes from the people's representatives no power that justly belongs to them. The legislators are the agents and servants of the people, not their masters. No true representative has a right or a desire to do anything his principal does not wish to have done, or to refuse to do anything his principal desires to have done. The Referendum merely prevents the representatives from becoming mis-representatives by doing, through ignorance or dereliction, what the people do not want, or neglecting to do what the people do want.

"A legislative body may depart from the people's will because it does not know what the people's will is, or because the pressure of private or personal interest, contrary to the public interest, overcomes the legislators' allegiance to the people's will. In either case the Referendum is the remedy and the only complete remedy; the only means whereby real government by the people may be made continuous and effective."

Direct-Legislation not only does not interfere in any way with the proper rights of the representative, but is in perfect keeping with representative government. This was made clear by the Supreme Court of Oregon in the following extract from its decision upholding the constitutionality of the law:

"The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place."

From Mr. Lodge's remarks it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he has so long served interests other than those he is supposed to represent—namely, the people—that he has lost sight of the fundamental principles that differentiate a democratic republic from a class-ruled government. He seems to imagine that when a representative is once elected his obligation to represent his principals or

masters ceases and he is perfectly free to serve interests diametrically opposed to those he is elected to represent; that he has a right to betray his constituency and that his constituency should not be permitted to stop the betrayal or sacrifice of their interests on the part of their false or corrupt servants. It is not necessary to point out the fact that this view is not only subversive of free institutions, but is as alien to the spirit of republicanism as is the bureaucracy of Russia alien to the spirit of democracy.

But Mr. Lodge raises an alarmist cry and seeks to frighten the people. In so doing he presupposes an ignorance on their part that is anything but flattering. He first falsely assumes that Direct-Legislation is destructive to popular government and on this clearly false assumption he proceeds to argue that it would produce anarchy and mob rule. He reaches the climax of absurdity when he conjures up the specter of a mob of citizens invading the capitol and seeking to overcome the people's representatives. To fully understand the falsity and absurdity of this claim it is only necessary to call to mind the provisions and methods of Direct-Legislation and to remember that nothing in government has ever been found so effective in destroying even the menace of mob-rule, lawlessness or anything that is opposed to rational and constitutional procedure as Direct-Legislation. Wherever it has been introduced it has not only destroyed class-rule and eliminated corrupt lobbies while purifying and elevating government, but it has removed all pretext for mob-rule.

By the initiative the people compel legislators to act upon measures that they desire to have acted upon. The legislators have thus every opportunity to oppose the proposed measure with all the arguments that they can bring to bear against it. If they defeat it the measure will then go before the people with the stamp of disapproval of the legislative body. Here again it will be thoroughly discussed through the press and on the hustings before the people are called upon to vote Yes or No on its adoption. Does this extension of an educational campaign and general deliberation, not only in the legislature but on the part of the press, smack of inconsiderate action, mob-rule or anarchy? Is it not almost inconceivable how any man prominently before the people would place himself in so ridiculous and unenviable a light as to attempt

to excite the fears of the ignorant by summoning the bogey of mob-rule in connection with the initiative and referendum? For the referendum is also an equally rational and obviously needed democratic safeguard to protect the nation against the corrupt usurpations of legislators acting for privileged interests against the public good. Here, if a certain per cent. of the voters demand that a measure shall be submitted to the people, and make known their demand in the prescribed manner within sixty or ninety days of the passage of the bill, it must be submitted to the electorate at the ballot, when the people have a right to pass on the measure, and if their servants have yielded to the corrupt lobby, the corrupt boss or to the privileged interests that purchase legislation through campaign funds, they have the opportunity of defeating the measure and thus merely protecting themselves. Does that suggest anarchy or the coming of a mob into the legislative halls to over-awe popular servants?

In the next place the Senator says: "The control of the electors over the representative is direct, and if he does not satisfy them he can be replaced."

If the Senator had said that the control of the electors over the representative *should be* direct, we would heartily agree with him and point out the fact that this is precisely what Direct-Legislation aims to accomplish. But he continues that, "If he does not satisfy them he can be replaced." This statement is doubly misleading. How, save by Direct-Legislation, can the people prevent corrupt legislators from bartering away their rights and possessions? It is beside the point to say that the traitor who has sold out his constituency and betrayed the people of a state can be relegated to private life. That does not mend the matter or restore to the people the property and rights disposed of by their faithless representative. But Direct-Legislation just here steps in and makes it possible for the people to veto the corrupt act or betrayal of their interests by false servants, and this is precisely why the trusts, monopolies and public-service companies, or, in a word, predatory wealth and its representatives and servants, all oppose Direct-Legislation.

Again, Mr. Lodge says: "If a representative does not satisfy them [the electors] he can be replaced." This is not true under the present régime, and no one knows it better than Senator Lodge.

Under boss-rule the slate is made up by the boss or so-called leader, with a few congenial consulting spirits and largely at the dictation of the corporations or campaign-fund-supplying privileged interests. What slate would be nominated in Massachusetts that Boss Lodge opposed or did not largely shape in the preparation? Occasionally a man has great wealth and being on the popular side of a question is able to force his claims upon the machine, but such cases are very rare and truly exceptional. Does Senator Lodge claim that the tickets nominated and elected by Boss Tweed in the heyday of his corrupt rule, represented the free choice of the New York electorate? Again, does he claim that the tickets made up year after year by Boss Quay and forced upon the Republican party of Pennsylvania represented the free will of the Republican electorate of Pennsylvania, or did they represent the will of the notorious boss, the corrupt ring, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other corporations that ruled the state through Quay? And what is true of New York City under Tweed and of Pennsylvania under Quay is true to a greater or less degree of every state that has passed under the control of corporate wealth guided by political bosses operating the money-controlled machine.

Again, Mr. Lodge says: "It is not to be forgotten that he [the representative] represents not merely the people of his own district but . . . of the entire state."

And what, pray, has this to do with the question? A state issue has to be referred under the referendum, not to the people of a single district, but to the whole electorate of the commonwealth; and if the legislator represents the whole state, how much more authoritative and important is the expressed will of the majority or the deliberate judgment of the masters or principals of the representatives.

In closing his attack on Direct-Legislation the Senator reached the climax of absurdity, when, presuming that his auditors knew nothing of what Direct-Legislation was, he tried to make them imagine that its introduction would result in the mob of a single city largely dominating legislation and thrusting upon the people "laws ruinous to the state in itself and to the best interests of the entire people of the state." We can only say that unless by a mob he meant the majority of the qualified electorate of the commonwealth, acting coolly,

dispassionately and intelligently, then his words are so far removed from both truth and possibility as to be unworthy of notice; and if he is opposed to giving the majority the right to pass on laws vital to its well-being, his proper place is at the council boards of the Czar, and not as a mis-representative of the citizens of Massachusetts in the United States Senate. As indicating how absurd are his words we quote the following from the *Direct-Legislation Primer*.

"The advantages of the present legislative system,—its compactness, experience, power of work, etc., are retained with the Referendum, but the evils of the present system,—its haste, complexity, corruption and violations of the will of the people, are eliminated.

"Under the Referendum the city or state has its body of legal experts, trained advisers, and experienced legislators, of course, and they continue to do most of the law-making, but their power to do wrong or stop progress, their power to do as they please in spite of the people is removed. The state that adopts the Referendum has the *service* of its legislators, without being subject to their *mastership*. If the representatives act as the people wish, their action is not disturbed. If they act against the people's wish, the people have a prompt and effective veto by which they can stop a departure from their will before any damage is done. This is a much-needed safeguard of popular institutions."

The Senator as an Upholder of Autocracy and Class-Rule.

Direct-Legislation is merely a practical method for preserving democratic or popular government under the changed conditions of the present time—a simple and feasible means for preventing a democratic republic from becoming a plutocracy masquerading under a republican form of government. It is a rational, practical and eminently effective method of restoring the government to the people in a peaceful manner and overthrowing the present autocratic rule in which the political boss and the money-controlled machine operate for and by the grace of privileged classes. No enemy of autocratic rule can oppose a method that renders popular rule secure and establishes democratic government so firmly that even the great wealth of the criminal rich cannot overthrow it. Moreover, Direct-Legislation is equally op-

posed to lawlessness, hasty and ill-considered action or anarchy in any form. This is necessarily the case, as after legislation has been considered by the people's representatives it cannot be finally settled, if the people are not satisfied with it, until an election is held, prior to which time the subject can be thoroughly presented in all its phases to the entire electorate. It is because Direct-Legislation secures to the people a government of the people, for the people and by the people that we find the autocrats and the upholders of the despotism of privileged wealth covertly or openly opposing this most vital and imperatively demanded reform.

Senator Lodge's Opposition to Public Ownership.

It is a very significant fact that those things that alarm and arouse the fear, anger and opposition of the great Wall-street gamblers, the public-service chiefs and the trust magnates, awaken precisely the same emotions in the patriotic brain of Senator Lodge. The feudalism of privileged wealth sees its continued reign menaced by Direct-Legislation and raises the cry of alarm, and Senator Lodge forthwith rushes to the attack. The great railway interests have corrupted and controlled government so long that all attempts at effective control of the railways, even though backed by an enraged electorate prove futile. The oligarchy of the public-service corporations, a power outside of government but more powerful than the government, has long exerted the evil influences which bureaucratic rule under a non-constitutional government exert, though their sway of course has been less open and apparent. We are only just beginning to even partially realize the nature and extent of the systematic corruption of government, the flagrant defiance of law, the long-continued plunder of the nation, and the destruction of honest industry for the enrichment of special classes, through secret rates, rebates and other forms of indirection which have prevailed for years, during which time Senator Lodge has remained complacent and compliant in the face of corruption, popular oppression and defiance of law.

But when Mr. Bryan proposes popular ownership of the railways—something which has proved uniformly successful wherever introduced, whether in republican Switzerland, imperial Germany or democratic New Zealand—we find Senator Lodge again rush-

ing to the defence of the Wall-street interests. This time his bogey man is not the mob, constituting a majority of all the voters of the state, but the specter of autocracy. The essential autocrat has now become the foe of autocracy. But here again we must not allow the confusion of terms to mislead us. Mr. Lodge opposes Direct-Legislation on the grounds that the people's representative must not be compelled to represent those he is elected to represent; that he must be left free to act on his own responsibility, though that action be diametrically opposed to the interests and wishes of the people he is elected to represent; or, to put it in another way, the representative when once elected, supposedly to represent the people, must be left free to represent trusts, corporations and predatory wealth, if in his wisdom it seems good to betray the people who have trusted him. To interfere with the royal prerogative of a representative of the people to misrepresent them is, according to Senator Lodge, to invite anarchy. If Senator Lodge's words mean anything, they mean that the people's representative is not bound to represent those he is elected to represent, but is perfectly free to vote and work against their interests and wishes, or, in other words, to become in fact though not in name the agent of the new autocracy of privileged wealth.

There is no more offensive exhibition of autocratic power perniciously employed this side of Russia and Turkey, than that afforded by the corporations and autocratic bosses that have so disgraced American politics since the days of Tweed. The boss, the present American autocrat, holds his place and power by grace of class-interests which prey upon the people and which within the last two generations have built up a mighty plutocracy in the New World. Against this new despotism, this sinister, corrupt, lawless and oppressive power that threatens the very foundations of free government the people are everywhere revolting. The Senator from Massachusetts seems to have had no apprehensions for the Republic from the real exhibitions of autocracy in political life that have become so apparent in recent years; but the very suggestion that the people should own and operate the railways, as they do the postal service, causes the phantom of autocracy to flit before the Senator's fevered brain. In a speech made at Nantasket, Massachusetts, on September 11th and reported in the Boston *Her-*

ald of September 12th, Senator Lodge is quoted as saying, in speaking of Mr. Bryan's proposition for government ownership:

"It is turning our backs on the road of republican government toward another road leading nowhere except to autocracy."

Switzerland, the most ideally republican government on the face of the earth, has taken over the railways, but only such a vivid imagination as Mr. Lodge possesses could conceive that she has turned her back on republican government. New Zealand, far more popular and republican in essence than is our government under the rule of the bosses and the public-service corporations, has for many years owned and operated the railways, but there has been no hideous head of autocracy seen rising in this freest of nations, no turning of the back on the road of republican government "toward another road leading nowhere except to autocracy."

Then, again, Senator Lodge exclaims: "When you place all the business agency of the country in the hands of one man or group of men at Washington, you have made those men your masters. They will control the government."

What Mr. Lodge describes actually exists to-day, but the seat of power is Wall street, not Washington, Washington being merely a registering center for the commercial autocracy whose stronghold is the Senate and which operates in the nation through the boss and the money-controlled machine.

But there is a great and all-important difference between the present autocracy of predatory wealth and the public ownership of railways. The railway power is irresponsible, lawless and the chief corrupting influence in government. Popular ownership of railways would place the railways under popular control and destroy the flagrant defiance of law and the systematic corruption of government by privilege-seeking bodies. Under civil-service rules the railways would be no more a menace to free government than the post-office department is, and, indeed, not so much so, for to-day the postal service is largely influenced by the corrupt power of the railway corporations, else the postal robbery of the people by the railways in extortionate rates and rentals which obtains at present, and which is described at length in our book-study of Professor Parsons' work in this issue, would not be possible. Even without civil

service, the greatest evils possible from public ownership would be indifferent compared with the evil influence now exerted by the railways, not only at elections, but systematically.

Why did the Pennsylvania Railroad, when pretending to refuse passes, at the beginning of last year send passes to all the Ohio legislators, if not to bribe those representatives of the people?

The story of the corruption of government in city, state and nation by the railways, as outlined by Professor Frank Parsons in his new work, *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, shows most clearly that the great

menace in this direction lies in the irresponsible and almost all-powerful railroad power that corrupts government, controls party-bosses and machines, and has already become an irresponsible, law-defying despotism, outside of but dominating government to such a degree that the people cannot get any fundamental or radical reforms; while it and its servants in government and the bosses are able to prevent the people from taking over and operating that which, like the water supplies for the cities or the postal department for the nation, is a natural monopoly which in the nature of the case should be operated by and for the whole people.

THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WISCONSIN PRIMARIES.

An Analysis of The Result.

SO MUCH has been made of the nomination of Governor Davidson at the Wisconsin Republican primaries by the organs of the corporations and the money-controlled political machines, and so many people ignorant of the facts have accepted as true the absurd and false statements of the kept editors of plutocracy about the "repudiation of Senator La Follette by his constituents" and "the overthrow of Senator La Follette by the Wisconsin Republicans," that a statement of facts seems called for, if for no other reason than to enable intelligent and truth-loving citizens to confute the ridiculous stories of the alarmed and unscrupulous reactionary feudalism of wealth. In answer to inquiries addressed to correspondents located in different parts of Wisconsin and who are not only persons of the highest character and moral rectitude but are also peculiarly well-fitted to discuss this question intelligently, because they are intimately acquainted with the real facts in the situation, we have received replies that enable us to give our readers a clearer view than would be possible without such assistance.

At the outset it is important to bear in mind the fact, as one of our correspondents puts it, that "for six years, the Republican party in Wisconsin has been divided into two well-defined groups called La Follette Republicans and the Stalwarts. La Follette has been the one undoubted leader of the dominant group. Spooner, Quarles, Charles Pfister recently indicted for theft by the grand jury and Fat-

frier Babcock were the nominal leaders of the Stalwarts. The real forces behind these men were the officers of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad company, the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad company, and the Milwaukee Electric Light and Traction company, with John I. Beggs as chief manager. These three have furnished the sinews of war. Of course, other public-service corporations and the favored shippers who have received secret rebates have contributed money to local newspapers and candidates for the legislature. But the real power has been the two great railroads of the state and the Milwaukee street-car company. La Follette has been able to conquer these forces by direct appeals to the voters. His ability as an organizer, his marvelous power as an orator and his absolute integrity and high ideals have welded together a great party in the cause of good government."

At the last election Senator La Follette was chosen governor and Mr. Davidson, a Norwegian and a staunch supporter of Senator La Follette, was selected for lieutenant-governor. In the opinion of many of the La-Follette or progressive Republicans, who were also sincere friends of Mr. Davidson, the lieutenant-governor was not exactly the best man for the extremely exacting demands of the present crisis, in which the millions of the railways and other public-service corporations and the machinations of the corrupt and unscrupulous reactionary Stalwart machine would be employed to the utmost to defeat further

legislation aimed to protect and secure the people from the aggressions of corporate wealth and corrupt interests, or to emasculate laws which the interested parties could not prevent from being enacted. Senator La Follette was of this opinion. He knew as did no other man, after his many years of constant battling with one of the most powerful combinations representing unlimited wealth seeking privileges that would render possible the plunder of the people, and with cunning, corrupt and conscienceless grafters and political bosses, aided and abetted by the organization of the national Republican party, that the battle only partially won in Wisconsin demanded the leadership of the strongest, ablest and most courageous statesman among the people,—a man who was not only honest, honorable and faithful to the people's cause, but one who could be depended upon to see through the deep schemes and wiles of the adroit and able agents of privileged wealth and political corruption, and who would be able to meet opposition with the courage, determination and intelligence that alone could secure final success in the great battle which has been so triumphantly inaugurated under the governorship of Mr. La Follette. It was the realization of the stern need of the hour which led Senator La Follette to advocate the nomination of Speaker Irvine Lenroot rather than that of Governor Davidson.

The Two Candidates.

In writing to us one of our valued correspondents from Wisconsin thus describes the situation:

"At the recent primaries, there were two candidates for the governorship. Both were La Follette Republicans and both had been his friends and supporters. Neither was suspected of the slightest insincerity. Both were of the common people, of unquestioned integrity, of irreproachable private life. Both had long served the state in high public positions.

"One of the candidates was Governor Davidson who has been governor since La Follette resigned and went to the Senate. He is an honest Norwegian. The other candidate was Irvine Lenroot, who had been speaker of the lower house of the legislature. He is an equally honest Swede. There are some 60,000 Norwegian voters in Wisconsin. There are but 30,000 Swedish and Danish voters in

the state. This gave Governor Davidson the advantage in a more or less faint race prejudice. Then, too, there was a widespread feeling that he should have the office a second term as he had been governor only about a year. But in another respect, he had a still more marked advantage: The Stalwarts number from thirty to forty per cent. of the Republican party. They went almost to a man for Governor Davidson. Senator Spooner returned to Madison the day before the primaries and gave out that he should vote for Davidson. This would naturally have the effect of sending the Stalwart vote to Davidson. But it no doubt cost Davidson as many La Follette supporters. The rule now in Wisconsin, is to find out what Spooner wants and then not do it."

Senator La Follette declared for Speaker Lenroot on the 20th of July. Unfortunately for the cause of the people, the Senator's engagements out of the state compelled him to remain away from Wisconsin until the 14th of August, and during this period of over three weeks all the opposition forces of the state united in a concerted battle to secure the nomination of Mr. Davidson. A large proportion of the Norwegians were easily won by the cry that Davidson was not only one of their own people, but that he had made a good governor and had earned the right to a nomination. The number of persons who had been appointed to office by Governor Davidson were naturally anxious that he be retained in the governorship and worked enthusiastically for him; while thousands of others, all of whom were strong friends and champions of Senator La Follette and all for which he stands, felt that in this battle it was merely a choice between two good men and that the Governor deserved at least one election to the high office to which he aspired. These factors carried to Davidson's support tens of thousands of votes which in any battle between Senator La Follette and the Spooner-railroad-corporation-Stalwart machine would be heart and soul for the junior senator. On the other hand, all of La Follette's enemies united to a man on Davidson, not only because they feared Lenroot more than the Governor, but because they hoped that by winning the day for Davidson Senator La Follette's forces could be divided, even if they could not get Davidson to become one of their own number.

All the various resources of a powerful,

shrewd and unscrupulous opposition, including the railways and all the great corporations and trust interests, were either openly or covertly employed to influence press and people in favor of Davidson; while still another factor worked strongly for Governor Davidson, and that was the alliance with him of W. D. Connor, a millionaire lumberman who, it is said, aspires to a seat in the United States Senate. He is a politician of the kind that has been all too numerous in American politics in recent years. It is claimed that he strove to make an alliance with La Follette, but the effort proved a failure, after which he joined forces with Davidson.

After being absent from the scene of conflict during three of the most crucial weeks of the campaign, during which time the opposition had been enabled to incline various shades of public opinion generally in favor of the Governor, Senator La Follette entered the battle on the 14th of August, having only the time between this date and the 3d of September in which to cover the state and overcome the united opposition. Had he been in the state during the whole campaign he would unquestionably have carried the day victoriously for Mr. Lenroot, in spite of the odds, judging from the influence he exerted wherever he was heard; but he arrived on the scene too late. "If Bob could see enough of the people before the primaries he would carry them for Lenroot, but he has not the time," exclaimed a hostile reporter who heard him from day to day during the closing hours of the campaign.

The Stand Taken by Senator La Follette.

One of our Wisconsin friends, in answer to the inquiry as to the exact stand taken by Senator La Follette in the contest, replied:

"La Follette took the stand in all these speeches that the state is entitled to the services of the ablest man; that sentiment should not control any more than in the election of a railroad executive; that Lenroot was by far the ablest man; that if good government was once lost it would be hard to regain; that no party could stand on its record; that the vast movement now on is just begun, is economic, is irrepressible; that no backward step should be taken in Wisconsin, as it affected other states; that corporate power is now a menace; that men little understood this movement if they thought it meant simply writing a few

statutes and then waiting for results; that it is a high, inspiring struggle, onward, upward, but against immense forces; that he had enlisted for life in this contest for good government.

"The result was a natural one. It could hardly be expected that the farmer, the merchant, the laboring man could see the necessity for watchfulness, for the very ablest men in the state government. La Follette is keen, alert, and 'up against' the corrupt interests all the time. He knows what they mean and how they work. He has high ideals. The average voter knows little of corporate power and methods and thinks little of affairs of government most of the time. He cannot see why one man cannot be governor as well as another if he is honest."

Will The Cause of Reform Go Forward?

In answer to our inquiry as to the effect of the primaries on the programme of progress to which the La Follette Republicans are pledged, one of our correspondents writes as follows:

"The most important question to men outside of Wisconsin is whether the recent nomination of Governor Davidson means the defeat of the movement for good government in this state. Whatever answer may be given elsewhere, men in Wisconsin know that the movement here will not stop. It may be *delayed* but if it is delayed there will be a reckoning with the men thus responsible. A great responsibility rests upon the men whom the people regarded as competent to carry forward the work of constructive legislation. To stand guard over what has been done will not be enough. An advance must be made. Any alliance with the Stalwarts will be suicide. During the campaign new issues were outlined and new laws were promised by both candidates. During the past six years, the people have seen La Follette do things and they now insist that more things shall be done. If nothing is done, the contrast will be great and the inaction will be the violation and repudiation of the most earnest promises. Such inaction would do more than anything else to make La Follette the dictator of every nomination if he chose to exercise that power. No men would be quicker to deny that the recent primary election meant the defeat of the issues raised by La Follette than the men who may justly be termed La Follette-Davidson men

In fact this has been denied a thousand times in the recent campaign. They honestly believe that the movement will go on as well as before. Great numbers of prominent La Follette men took this ground previous to the primary election on September 4th. Whether their hopes and promises will be enacted into the laws demanded in the coming legislature next winter is quite another matter. There may be a delay of two years. But there is no doubt about what the dominant party will demand and will have. The party that elected La Follette in 1904 carried the state against the solid Stalwart vote by a plurality of 50,952. This party is almost a unit on the laws already passed and those demanded. Not a thing has occurred during the past two years to change their opinions on the movement in Wisconsin. On the contrary, the laws enacted making good government a reality in part, have made men more firm and more hopeful for the coming contest."

Senator La Follette's Prestige.

In answer to a question as to whether the result of the primaries would seriously impair Senator La Follette's prestige with the people, we received the following reply:

"The question of whether the people of Wisconsin have abandoned La Follette as their leader is of great importance to good citizens everywhere. It will be said over and over again that he has been discredited in his state. The people of Wisconsin ought to know best about that. His own supporters including almost to a man those who would not vote for his choice of a candidate ought to know whether they have abandoned his leadership. They declare as one man that La Follette is the one leader and that he shall remain the leader. Those who supported Davidson are more insistent on this than those who supported Lenroot. Nothing was more common during the recent campaign than to hear such men say: 'If Bob wants anything himself, I will in the future do all I can for him.' One man said: 'He is a man of such splendid ability that we can afford to let him make a mistake.' This well expresses the attitude of mind of almost every Davidson supporter. When the time comes to elect delegates to the National Republican Convention, people outside of Wisconsin will see how the people of Wisconsin regard his leadership.

"It cannot be denied that the last primary election will afford a coveted opportunity for

the public-service corporations, trusts and monopolies beyond the borders of this state to quote that election as marking the downfall of La Follette and of the reform movement. They will quote Wisconsin papers and Wisconsin men, all Stalwart, to prove this. That infamous sheet, the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, devoted to the grafters, the bribers, boodlers and gamblers, and especially to the interests of the two great railroads and of the Milwaukee street-car company, will be quoted by the public-service corporations everywhere. Spooner, the former attorney of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad company, the dispenser of their passes and the recipient of their gifts, will again quote Wisconsin which has repudiated him and flung with scorn from the Senate his friend Quarles. It can easily and truly be said that La Follette asked the voters here to do one thing and they would not do it. But one and all, the men of his party, still stand where they have always stood—for La Follette and his principles."

Evil Results Already Seen.

It is extremely unfortunate that Governor Davidson allowed his personal ambition to gain ascendancy over the best interests of the cause in the present crisis, in such a way as to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the people, and the evil results of this act are already in evidence in the defeat at the primaries of the able and incorruptible district-attorney, Mr. McGovern of Milwaukee, whose aggressive war on graft and bribery so terrified the criminals who under the old order debauched Wisconsin politics and legislated away the people's rights, and in the nomination for Congress of the unsavory fat-frying Babcock. Neither Davidson nor Connor would speak one word in favor of McGovern or against Babcock in the campaign, thus showing a willingness to betray the cause of good and pure government or civic righteousness and to sacrifice the people and deliver them over to their enemies rather than jeopardize their own personal interests.

Some of the fair-weather friends of Senator La Follette are saying that he has made a great mistake in coming out against Governor Davidson, but those who understand all that is involved in the present titanic struggle between the people and the corrupt feudalism of privileged wealth believe that the mistake was not made by Senator La Follette, but by the voters of Wisconsin, and that time will clearly prove this to be the case.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN PLUTOCRACY AND POPULAR RULE IN VARIOUS COMMONWEALTHS.

The Political Situation in New York.

THE POLITICAL contest in New York reveals a most amazing situation. Mr. Hearst was nominated on a splendid platform by the Independence League at one of the most popular, thoroughly representative and enthusiastic conventions of recent years. The platform called for most of the great fundamental democratic measures which the people are so loudly demanding and which the plutocracy is so determined shall not be granted. The enthusiasm created by the Independence League's convention and the reception of its candidates whenever they appeared amazed and alarmed the representatives of privileged interests in both the old parties.

Mr. Hearst immediately began a vigorous campaign. His strength with the people was unmistakable and there seemed every prospect of his drawing a very large proportion of the progressive Republican vote, as the more independent members of that party have of late come to see how absolutely the party has been controlled by corrupt bosses, who in turn are merely the tools of the Harrimans, the Ryans, the Morgans and other Captain Kidds of modern commercialism. That Mr. Hearst would poll a very large proportion of the rank and file of the Democratic vote went without question. Still, there seemed to be little doubt but what, if the plutocratic wing of the Democratic party could control the Democratic organization, the Republicans would be comparatively secure in their continued hold on the state government.

In greater New York the political conditions in the Democratic party were anomalous. At the last mayoralty election Ryan, Belmont, MacClellan, McCarren and Murphy worked hand in glove together for the spoils of office. In all probability they failed to elect their ticket, but through the aid of Parker and the Republican organization and officials they were able to prevent the votes being cast which would in all probability have proved Mr. Hearst to be elected mayor. The scandal of the election, however, was so great that a public outcry ensued and it became necessary, if

MacClellan should maintain a place in political favor, that someone should be sacrificed to appease the public clamor. Ryan, Belmont and MacClellan had secured from Murphy all they felt it was necessary to obtain. MacClellan enjoyed the fruits of the stolen election, and the Belmont-Ryan interests were in safe hands. There were many leaders in the Tammany organization who would be as willing servants of predatory wealth as Murphy had been, and probably far less exacting than this boss. It was decided to throw him overboard in the interests of respectability. The plans were carefully laid and MacClellan began to antagonize Murphy. The Sullivans, big and little Tim, were apparently won over to the MacClellan faction, and when all was ready war on Murphy was declared. The Tammany boss, however, was by no means willing to become the sacrificial lamb for the sins of MacClellan and his confederates. A bitter contest ensued. It was war to the death. Jerome, the shielder and protector of the great criminal rich; more humble in the presence of the great law-breakers than Uriah Heep; with an insatiable appetite for office that suggested the hunger pangs of Oliver Twist; and as willing as Barkis whenever an opportunity was offered for him to reach the public crib, was quick to ally himself with the Ryan-Belmont-MacClellan-McCarren aggregation and to declare his willingness to lead the party under the guidance of these "safe and sane" gentlemen in the coming contest.

The primary elections in New York were fought with unprecedented bitterness. Murphy found himself battling for life with many of his old lieutenants ranging with the foe, believing that Murphy's sun was setting. Naturally enough, Murphy's hatred of MacClellan knew no bounds. The mayor was holding his office by grace of Murphy, and there was nothing Murphy now desired more heartily than to see the mayor removed. Again, he found that a large proportion of the rank and file who were not ranged under the MacClellan-Jerome banner were strong supporters of Mr. Hearst, being laboring men and members of the various labor unions who remembered how for years Mr. Hearst had

fought consistently and unremittingly in the interests of labor.

Under ordinary circumstances Murphy would naturally have allied himself with Hearst, but Hearst had attacked Murphy more mercilessly than he had attacked any other man. He had caricatured him and cartooned him in every conceivable way; he had dressed him in prison-stripes. Still, finding himself between the devil and the deep sea, and with the vast majority of the Tammany members who were not against him favorable to Hearst, Murphy inclined to the latter.

After the primaries it was found that Murphy had not been overthrown. Then there was consternation in the ranks of the "safe and sane," and the *New York World*, a pretended Democratic organ which has been fighting most of the progressive democratic measures advocated in recent years, volunteered the prediction that the next Governor of New York would *not* be a Democrat, and that the next President of the United States would *not* be a Democrat; after which it had apparently gone to work heart and soul to see that its predictions were verified, as day after day it attacked Mr. Bryan, cartooned and ridiculed him, while assailing the popular demands of progressive democracy. The *World* was one of the first to become alarmed lest Murphy's influence might be cast for Mr. Hearst in the convention; so week by week it republished Hearst's cartoons and in every way possible sought to rouse Murphy against Hearst and make him fight with those who had determined upon his slaughter. This would enable the Democratic machinery to be held in the hands of the "safe and sane" grafting element.

When it had appeared probable that the MacClellan-Jerome-McCarren-Belmont-Ryan aggregation would control the convention it had been announced throughout their papers that it was the intention to read Mr. Hearst out of the Democratic party. He had accepted a position as leader of a third party, and it was claimed that he was no longer a Democrat. Mr. Hearst readily appreciated the peril of the situation and he did not propose to give up the fight in the Democratic convention without a sturdy struggle, especially as a large proportion of the rank and file throughout the state had instructed their delegates to fight for his nomination.

When the convention met the McCarren-Standard Oil-Ryan-Belmont association had

come to the conclusion that it would be worse than useless to nominate the discredited sham-reformer, Jerome. His brazen refusal to carry out his ante-election pledges in regard to punishing the great insurance criminals and others of the criminal rich, his persistent attempts to shield the wealthy criminals and to prevent the ice-trust and other aggregations that were oppressing the people from being proceeded against, had created such general contempt for him among decent and self-respecting citizens that his nomination was out of the question. In their extremity they were anxious to obtain the support of any prominent Democrat with a splendid record to be their figurehead. They therefore turned to Judge Gaynor. There was no positive evidence that Gaynor would agree to run, although McCarren claimed that he would. Mayor Adam of Buffalo was also spoken of, and desperate attempts were made to secure a majority of the delegates, so as to organize the convention. It soon became apparent, however, that the great number of Hearst delegates throughout the state would render it impossible for the Belmont-Ryan-MacClellan-Jerome-McCarren forces to control the convention, unless they could receive the Tammany votes controlled by Mr. Murphy, the man whom they had so recently and publicly declared to be marked for slaughter. Murphy, as can be easily imagined, was in no mood to surrender to the enemies who had not only betrayed him, but who would unquestionably replace him with another man of a similar character but less exacting as leader of Tammany Hall at the first opportunity. Moreover, as has been noted, a very large proportion of the Tammany members who had supported Murphy were outspoken in their demand that Hearst be the nominee. Under these circumstances Murphy inclined to Hearst, notwithstanding the fact that Hearst had so bitterly assailed him in the past.

It would be difficult to describe the consternation in the ranks of the plutocratic or corporation democracy when it was found that Murphy could not be won over to the Belmont-McCarren-Jerome aggregation. MacClellan and Jerome saw at once that in the success of Hearst would be their own downfall, as he would unquestionably remove them; the former as holding an office through fraud, and the latter for shielding the criminal rich and refusing to fulfil his oath of office. The spectacle of being without a place at the pub-

lic crib filled Jerome with dismay. He telegraphed to Saratoga, signifying his willingness to stump the state for Hughes if the Republicans would nominate Hughes, the only man who the corporation interests felt could possibly overcome the popularity of Mr. Hearst in the present temper of the people. Up to this time the Republicans had not thought seriously of nominating Hughes. Boss Odell had pushed him forward as his candidate, while President Roosevelt favored the discredited governor who had so long protected insurance corruption; but Higgins at the last moment declined to run, and the fight lay between ex-Governor Black and Lieutenant-Governor Bruce. When it became evident that Mr. Hearst would be the nominee even President Roosevelt realized that the only hope of the Republican party lay in the nomination of Hughes, and he seconded Odell in urging Hughes on the convention, with the result that he was promptly nominated with the old Republican ticket, including the discredited Attorney-General Myers, whose record is only less reprehensible than that of former Superintendent of Insurance Hendricks.

Mr. Hearst was nominated in the Democratic convention by a vote of 309 to 141; whereupon all the agencies controlled by Belmont, Ryan and the Wall-street aggregation of predatory wealth promptly prepared to bolt the Democratic ticket. With one accord papers and politicians owned by the corporations, which have been so zealously working to obtain Murphy's support for their candidates, began assailing Murphy as the betrayer of the party and pretended to be horrified at the thought of the triumph of Mr. Hearst rendered possible by the aid of Boss Murphy. Had Murphy thrown his votes for those who sought to knife him, he would have had no more criticism from the "safe-and-sane" element of the party than Patrick McCarren is to-day receiving at their hands.

Should the Republicans triumph, New York will be indebted to Mr. Hearst's candidacy for the selection of Mr. Hughes instead of a weaker and a more corrupt man. The present Republican nominee made a splendid record in carrying forward the magnificent work of insurance exposure rendered inevitable through the so-called "muck-raking" magazines, the *New York World* and the Hearst papers. But, on the other hand, Mr. Hughes is handicapped by having acquired

large wealth through being a corporation attorney. His prejudices and sympathies are therefore naturally with corporate wealth in its battle for essential supremacy over the struggling masses that are so thoroughly the victims of extortion and oppression. Moreover, the platform of the Republican party is a platform of reaction—a platform which meets with the applause of all the public-service corporations and predatory bands, while Mr. Hearst stands unequivocally, unqualifiedly and aggressively for public ownership, for the rooting out of corruption, and for the effective curbing of the cupidity of corporate wealth.

Immediately after the nomination of Mr. Hearst the reactionary element that had pretended to be the friends of Mr. Bryan, but which were in reality only using him to try and make a schism among radical Democratic forces, declared that Mr. Bryan's friends were preparing to knife Hearst and intimated that Mr. Bryan, while he would have come to New York to speak for Sulzer had he been nominated, would not appear for Hearst. Mr. Bryan promptly set all these unauthorized rumors at rest by enthusiastically declaring for Mr. Hearst and expressing the conviction that he would not only make a strong race, but, if elected, would prove an able and capable executive. He furthermore declared his willingness to go into New York and speak for Mr. Hearst if his managers desired him to do so.

The Republicans believe they will have an easy victory on account of the defection of the reactionary element in the Democratic party, which is probably stronger in New York than in any other state and which represents the great corrupt organizations which have so long been beneficiaries of corrupt legislation; while it is recognized on all sides that Mr. Hughes is by far the strongest man that could have been nominated on the Republican ticket. On the other hand, Mr. Hearst is making a vigorous campaign, and whether he is elected or defeated, the result of the action of the Democratic convention cannot be other than beneficial to the radical or progressive Democrats, for the reason that it will place the machinery of the Democratic organization in the hands of the progressive or truly democratic element of the party, and it will also force the plutocratic papers, which have only been pretending to support the democratic principles for the purpose of be-

traying the party, to take sides at this early date, which will render them powerless to do great injury to the cause of democracy in the coming presidential election. These things, it seems to us, are of especial importance to the cause of radical democracy.

The Political Situation in Massachusetts.

THE BATTLE between the plutocratic Democrats, led by the state machine under the guidance of Chairman Josiah Quincy, Mr. Gaston and Congressman Sullivan, and the democratic Democrats under the leadership of the incorruptible and fearless district-attorney of Boston, John B. Moran, has been waged with all the intensity that marks a struggle between two powerful factions battling for a coveted prize. The Quincy-Gaston machine has been as wholly committed to the corrupt public-service companies and monopolies as are Senator Bailey of Texas, Belmont, Ryan and Jerome of New York and Taggart and Sullivan of the National Democratic Committee. Indeed, the two men that this unsavory organization or machine insisted upon foisting on the Democratic party of Massachusetts spoke more eloquently than words and as impressively as their former acts had spoken of their brand of Democracy. This state organization upon nominating for governor Henry M. Whitney, so well known to the citizens of Massachusetts by the sinister power he has long wielded as the head of public-service companies and great corporations interested in special legislation, and widely known to the American people through the merciless exposures made by Thomas W. Lawson. The machine leaders were equally consistent in selecting as the ideal candidate to run with Mr. Whitney Congressman Sullivan. Sullivan's record, from his youth up, proves beyond question that he would have made an admirable running-mate with Mr. Whitney. He, it will be remembered, displayed his real character when he voted in Congress to pay himself or turn into his own personal pocket the fare to and from Boston on account of President Roosevelt's "constructive recess," a recess which only existed in the fertile imagination of Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt. Thus Sullivan voted to rob the American tax-payers of the amount of his fare to and from Boston.

It is needless to say that all the corporation-

controlled "safe and sane" Democratic journals of Massachusetts clamored for the nomination of Mr. Whitney; while the machine, with the backing of all the public-service companies, labored to its utmost to defeat the nomination of Mr. Moran, who is justly dreaded by the criminal rich, owing to the fact that he refuses to recognize any difference between crime when committed by the powerful pillars of society and when the work of men not bulwarked by ill-gotten wealth.

Mr. Moran and his friends had no money to spend in the campaign—not enough, indeed, to properly present his cause to the people, and, except the *Boston American*, no great newspaper advocated his nomination. He had, however, something of far more value to a political leader than the cash of men who were seeking to acquire wealth at the expense of the people. He enjoyed the confidence of a large majority of the most thoughtful men in his party. His record as district-attorney had proved that he not only promised, but that he fulfilled his promises; that he was independent, loyal and unafraid. Therefore at the Democratic primaries, held on the 25th and 26th of September, a majority of the delegates chosen were pledged to the nomination of Mr. Moran; so it seems highly probable that in spite of all the machinations of the corruptionists, the grafters and the machine Democrats, the fearless district-attorney will be the nominee for governor on the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Moran has already been nominated for governor by the Prohibitionists and the Independence League of Massachusetts, and whether or not he receives the Democratic nomination he will be a candidate at the polls.

Of course Massachusetts is overwhelmingly Republican, her majorities ranging from in the neighborhood of 50,000 to 100,000, and this year, if Mr. Moran is nominated by the Democrats, the Republican party will have the covert aid of all the corporation-owned Democrats as well as the powerful support of the alarmed plutocrats. Still, we believe the vote cast for Mr. Moran will indicate that in the old Bay State there is yet to be found a vast throng of men and women of courage, conscience and aggressive honesty who are faithful to the cause of the people and the principles of free government in the great battle now being waged between plutocracy and democracy.

Mr. Churchill and The New Hampshire Republican Convention.

THE REPUBLICAN contest in New Hampshire, to which we recently referred at length, afforded an inspiring illustration of what one young man, impelled by a lofty moral purpose, is able to do in a single-handed battle against one of the most powerful and corrupt combinations known to modern politics.

When Winston Churchill entered the battle in New Hampshire and began to expose the imperial sway exerted by the Boston and Maine Railroad over the government of the state through the money-controlled Republican machine, the old-line politicians no less than the railroad magnates displayed considerable amusement. They refused to take him seriously and determined upon the usual tactics of the corruptionists,—ignoring the charges when possible, and in other instances entering a general denial. Mr. Churchill, however, fortified his position by a vast array of incontrovertible facts, and the people rallied to his standard with such enthusiasm that the indifference and contempt of the masters of the multitudes was soon changed to uneasiness that ripened into alarm. It was not long before the railway and machine power was doing its utmost to neutralize the influence of Mr. Churchill. In this, however, it signally failed. The young leader soon had the conscience of New Hampshire awakened as it had not been awakened in decades. When the convention met, so great was the clamor for reform that the party felt compelled to adopt a platform substantially such as had been demanded by Mr. Churchill, and after the balloting for candidates began the young author-statesman steadily gained in strength, until it became thoroughly manifest that unless there was a union of the field against him he would be triumphantly nominated. Then it was that the tools of the Boston and Maine Railroad and all the predatory bands united and nominated a corporation candidate.

The work achieved by Mr. Churchill, however, has been greater than his most enthusiastic friends dared to hope when he entered the campaign. He has become unquestionably the most influential statesman in the commonwealth of New Hampshire,—that is to say, the man whose word on political questions would influence more voters than that of any other individual.

Why Robert Baker Should be Elected to Congress.

NOTHING has been more noticeable in the Congress of the past few years than the vigilance displayed by certain senators and congressmen for the interests of the railways, the trusts and other privileged interests that are fattening off of the earnings of America's masses. Our readers will call to mind how quick were Foraker, Knox, Spooner, Aldrich and other of the railroad senators to fight against the attempt even to secure a very partial relief for the American people from railway discrimination, extortion and evasion of law during the past winter. So also they will remember how quick were Senator Hopkins and Congressmen Cannon, Lorimer and Madden to labor with Mr. Roosevelt against legislation that the President's own commission had conclusively shown to be absolutely essential in order to protect the people from diseased and filthy meat and drugged concoctions sent out under fraudulent names. Moreover, when they failed to secure the defeat of the measure for the beef-trust, it will be remembered how Cannon and other henchmen of the poisoned-meat trust saddled the enormous annual expense of three million dollars on the voters of America, which every honest man must admit the beef-trust should have been compelled to pay, and which it would have been compelled to pay had not the so-called people's representatives been the real representatives of the poisoned-meat trust. These examples are purely typical. Every winter witnesses a number of similar examples of the supposed representatives of the people battling against the interests of their constituents and defeating needful legislation desired by the voters, simply because the real masters of the legislators—the public-service companies and monopolies—wish the people's interests sacrificed.

But while the interests are strong in that they possess a number of faithful watch-dogs ever alert, vigilant and active to serve their masters by preventing necessary legislation in the public interest, congressional life in recent years has shown few men in either house who could be properly termed watch-dogs for the people. Among those in Congress, however, who in recent years have been ever alert and watchful for the true interests of their constituents, no man has made a more splendid record than ex-Congressman Robert

Baker of Brooklyn. He proved himself a public servant in the truest sense of the term—a democratic Democrat who was ever fearless, aggressive and active in fighting for the basic principles of free government and justice for all the people.

At the last election he was naturally enough marked for slaughter by the corrupt McCarren machine, which he had fearlessly and persistently exposed and attacked; yet there is every reason to believe that he was triumphantly elected, though only to be counted out by the desperate and daring band that aided in the counting out of Congressman Hearst in the mayoralty election.

This year Mr. Baker is again running for Congress, and we bespeak for him the earnest and active aid of every patriotic citizen in his district. It is not enough that he should secure your votes. You should, in the interests of civic morality and just government, make his cause yours in the present crisis. You should show all your friends how important it is that the people be as faithful to their true servants as are the privileged interests faithful to their agents and tools in the various departments of city, state and national government. Congressman Baker should be reelected by such a rousing majority that the corrupt ring could not nullify the people's verdict.

PROFESSOR PARSONS ON A RECENT MUNICIPAL CONTEST AND THE TACTICS OF THE CORPORATION PRESS.

The Defeat of Municipal Ownership in Seattle.

MUNICIPAL ownership was voted down in Seattle, though the movement carried the best wards in the city. The machine was against it and all but one of the daily papers, and the plan was not as good as one could wish, nor were some of the men in the movement such as to inspire the confidence of the people. One man in particular, the city engineer who would have to carry out the plan, was obnoxious to many citizens who believe in municipal ownership, so that the mixture of issues and personal considerations prevented the vote from being a fair test of public opinion in Seattle on the question of municipal ownership.

FRANK PARSONS.

Delirium Tremens of The Corporation Press.

IN SOME parts of the country where the agitation for municipal ownership is specially vigorous, the corporation press, never very healthy at the best, is, under adverse circumstances and nerve-trying conditions, acquiring intellectual rabies and delirium tremens.

The latest case is that of the *Seattle Times*. The earnest movement for municipal ownership of street-railways in that city has been too much of a strain on the delicate constitution of that aristocratic journal, and it has

become decidedly hysterical, as is shown by this recent declaration which appeared in black-faced type covering the whole upper part of the front page:

"MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP SPELLS WRECK AND RUIN WHEREVER IT IS FOUND."

It is easy for a corporation newspaper "to make such a sinner of its memory as to credit its own lie" (if we may so far impose upon the immortal William as to associate one of his keen remarks with a modern newspaper of the rascal type), but it is difficult to understand how a sufficient amount of ignorance and credulity could be cultivated anywhere in this country to give credence to such a colossal lie as that just quoted.

Detroit has cut the price of a standard arc from \$132 to \$60 a year and saved \$1,000,000 to the city in ten years by municipal ownership of a street-lighting plant. Birmingham figures that its municipal gas-works have saved the people \$6,000,000 in thirty years. Glasgow and Liverpool have cut the fares in half, raised wages and shortened hours and turned large profits into the public treasury. Has municipal ownership spelled wreck and ruin in these cities? If so, their millions of inhabitants are suffering under a strange hallucination, for they regard their municipal plants as exceedingly successful, and they live

with these plants and do business with them every day, while the *Seattle Times* is about six thousand miles away.

Hundreds of other instances could be given. There are about 1,000 municipal electric-plants in the United States, and nearly all of them are laboring under the impression that they are successful. There are thousands of public water-works in the country, and they are strangely ignorant of the fact discovered by the *Times* that municipal ownership spells wreck and ruin. Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and other countries have multitudes of public lighting and transit systems, and they are mistaking these masses of wreck and ruin for prosperity and progress and are adding constantly to the lists of public plants. In the last dozen years some fifty cities in Great Britain and thirty in Germany have adopted municipal operation of street-railways. No one except the *Times* has heard that all these are wrecks and ruins, or that any one of them is a wreck or ruin. Some few of them do not pay in dollars and were not expected to, being established under conditions that private companies would not undertake to meet, because there was no prospect of profit. But the public need was there and the municipality entered upon the work, not for profit, but for the public good, just as it builds and maintains streets and sewers, knowing also that they will pay in other ways far more than an equivalent of their cost.

Most of the public plants pay in dollars as well as in service, and most of them are well managed. Not all, of course. Municipal plants have to be managed by human beings as well as private plants, and both are liable to failure. The *Times* instances a few cases which it calls failures of municipal ownership, the leading example being the Richmond gas works. We are told on high authority in New York that the reason the Richmond gas-works were allowed to get out of repair was that George Gould, who controls the street-railways in that city, wanted to get possession of the gas-plant and acquired sufficient influence in the council to prevent the appropriations for repairs that were asked for by the superintendent of the works. Even if all that the *Times* and other corporation papers say about Richmond were true, it would only show a case of partial mismanagement, not wreck or ruin, for the works have more than paid for themselves in profits turned into the public treasury besides greatly

reducing the price of gas and paying double the wages per hour paid by the private gas-works in other southern cities, which latter fact is one of the main complaints of the corporation press.

The Toledo gas-plant, the New York ferry and the Glasgow telephone are also instanced by the *Times*. The Glasgow telephone has been a great success, resulting in great improvement of service and lowering of rates, as we shall show in a future number. Even in its sale to the post-office, which has been misrepresented by the corporation press, it won a great victory over the private telephone company, which was trying hard for precedence in the sale to the government. It was a race between the two to sell to the national government, which aims to absorb all the telephones in a few years, and the municipal plant won out.

We believe that telephone competition is a mistake, but it is entirely untrue to represent the Glasgow telephone as a failure or an instance of wreck and ruin.

The *Times* does not make good in any respect. We could give it points for its argument better than any it makes. It does not even mention the Philadelphia gas-works, or the Boston Fenway or printing-plant. But with all possible points the argument amounts to nothing; for there are vastly more failures under private ownership than under public ownership. The highest commercial authority in this country is quoted as estimating that ninety-five per cent. of all private enterprises fail. That seems almost unbelievable, but any one who will follow the lists of failures year after year will not be able to retain a doubt that the proportion of failures in private enterprises is far greater than in public enterprises.

Suppose we should write up the Baring Brothers and Black Friday and the long list of railroads that have been in the receiver's hands, etc., and top the thing with big headlines:

**"PRIVATE OWNERSHIP
SPELLS WRECK AND RUIN
WHEREVER IT IS FOUND."**

What would you think of it? Simply a lie. That's all. But not nearly so desperate a lie as the *Seattle Times* put out in its frantic tirade against municipal ownership.

FRANK PARSONS.

ALLAN L. BENSON ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

**Bankers Oppose Postal Savings-Banks:
We Also Understand That Burglars
Are Opposed to Having Police.**

IT WOULD be exceedingly poor policy for the government of the United States to establish postal savings-banks.

The bankers themselves assure us of the entire truthfulness of this statement.

There is something strange about our conception of the banking business.

When we want to draft a statute against burglary, we do not call upon representative burglars to give us advice.

But when we want to revise the national financial system, by which the people are robbed of dollars where the burglars take cents, then we must go to the bankers to find out how to do it.

And they give us their advice—freely.

Another deluge of this advice has followed the starting of a movement in Chicago to petition congress to authorize postal savings-banks. Acting as the spokesman of the bankers, the *Boston Herald* recently published an editorial showing conclusively, as it no doubt believed, that by actual test, the private banking system of New York had outdone the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom. The "proof" consisted of the statement that the deposits in the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom at the end of 1904 amounted to \$741,700,000, while the deposits in the savings-banks of New York at the end of the same year amounted to \$1,252,928,300.

Of course, the mere fact that in a country of virgin resources the people are able to save more than are the people of a country that resembles a squeezed lemon has nothing to do with the larger savings of some of the people of New York. We must believe, we presume, that the difference between the aggregate of the deposits in the savings-banks of New York and the postal savings-banks of the United Kingdom is due solely to the increased satisfaction that the New York depositors derive from doing business with the New York banks. Else, why make the comparison at all?

Yet these banker gentlemen who circulate their advice so freely through their newspapers

seem to believe that the people can have no possible interest in banks except in the rate of interest they pay. Basing their opposition to postal savings-banks on the assumption that the government would not pay as high a rate of interest to depositors as is paid by banks that are privately owned, they seek to close discussion of the entire question by deciding against government banks.

They never say a word about the increased security that the government could give—that's a matter of no possible interest to anybody. The Hippleys, the Stenslands and the Bigelows are not worth mentioning. Silence as intense is maintained concerning the possible advantage that might accrue to the people through the inability of privately-owned banks to turn over the savings of depositors to promoters of fraudulent corporation schemes.

In all respects, these banker gentlemen are exceedingly peculiar. They hear us talking about buying the railroads and other public utilities. Such idle dreams excite only their pity. We are informed that the government has not the money with which to buy even the railroads. Then in the next breath, they tell us that we do not want postal savings-banks, because the government never could find profitable, safe means of investing such huge sums of money. Yet these gentlemen, in their own business, consider railroad bonds both safe and profitable investments.

From the point-of-view of the banker, popular wisdom lies in lending money to the banks at three per cent. and borrowing it back at six per cent. What the people do not borrow back, the banks invest in railroad bonds and other securities and thus get their pound of flesh from the people by a different route. Any time the bankers become frightened, they call in their loans and precipitate a panic.

Over in New Zealand, they do not see it that way. The government of New Zealand controls the colony's own finances and New Zealand had no panic in 1893 when all of the rest of the world did. Over in New Zealand, they have postal savings-banks, and nobody ever loses a cent by reason of a bank failure. The whole credit of the government is behind every dollar of savings on deposit, and the government finds profitable use for the money

in extending its ownership of public utilities.

It should be explained, however, that the New Zealanders are advised by their private bankers that this is very foolish business. But New Zealand no longer lets private bankers shape its financial policy. It has learned better.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

**The Detroit United Railway Company
Bribing Detroit Newspapers to Get
Its Street Railway Franchises
Extended.**

FOR THREE months, the Detroit United Railway company has been giving in Detroit an exhibition of the power of a public-service corporation to persuade newspapers to swallow their principles and betray the people in a crisis.

The Detroit United Railway company operates 187 miles of street-railways in Detroit. In 1909, the franchises on 65 miles of its tracks, including all of the main lines that reach the heart of the city, will expire and every two or three years thereafter, the franchises on 20 or 30 miles of tracks will expire until the last franchise passes out of existence in 1924. And inasmuch as the street-railway company has nearly \$12,000,000 of bonds that are to run until 1932, the company is exceedingly anxious to obtain an extension of its franchises.

Early in August of this year, George P. Codd, a Republican who had been elected mayor on his representation that he was in favor of the municipal-ownership of the street-railway system, startled the city by announcing that he had "forced" the street-railway company to accept certain terms for the extension of its franchises, and laid before the common council an ordinance embodying the "concessions" he had "compelled" the company to give. The mayor proposed to extend all of the company's franchises until 1924, the company agreeing to sell ten tickets for 25 cents from 5 o'clock until 8 o'clock in the morning and from 4.30 until 6.30 in the afternoon, with six tickets for 25 cents at all other hours and five cents for each cash fare. Under the franchises that are about to expire, the company, on most of its lines, sells eight tickets for 25 cents from 5 o'clock in the morning until 6.30 A. M. and from 4.45 P. M. until 5.45 P. M. These rates of fare obtain on all except what is known as the "Pingree Line" which differs from the others only in that six

tickets are sold for 25 cents during the middle of the day, the other lines charging straight five-cent fares in the middle of the day.

A rule of the common council prevents the council from finally passing any ordinance granting a franchise until it shall have been submitted to a vote of the people. The street-railway company therefore entered upon what it called a "campaign of education," in preparation for the elections to be held on November 6th. Half-page advertisements were daily placed in all of the newspapers in which the street-railway company gave all of the details of its business that it wanted the people to know.

What was the effect upon the newspapers?

Briefly, this: Before the franchise was brought out, there was not a newspaper in the city that dared openly to favor the granting of another franchise to the street-railway company. For a year, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Michigan had carried at the head of its editorial columns in large type this declaration of principles:

"No more street-railway franchises on any terms;

"Restoration of government by the people and not by private corporations."

Yet the newspaper that had so long carried this bold statement of its beliefs absolutely backed down in the face of the application for a franchise and the accompanying order for franchises. For days after the application was made all that appeared in its editorial columns pertaining to the matter was a jumble of words bulging with "nevertheless," "it may be," "on the other hand," "it is difficult to tell," and it finally wound up by telling its readers that every one would have to decide for himself how he should vote. So astounding was the conduct of the newspaper that its subscribers began to write to it to inquire what had become of its principles. Twice the newspaper was smoked out and attempted to explain but did not explain. In the latter part of September, the famous statement disappeared from its editorial page for two days and was then re-inserted with the statement that "the printer" had accidentally left it out and nobody in the office had noticed it. Everybody else in Detroit had noticed it much earlier and many persons had written to the newspaper about it. But even after the declaration of principles that were no longer principles had been re-inserted, the

editorials of the newspaper did not square with its professed principles. In an attempt to save its face, it printed an occasional editorial in criticism of the proposed franchise, but the editorials were ineffective, as they were meant to be. They merely represented assaults with a feather-duster.

Of the other three newspapers only one has fought the franchise. No other newspaper has openly declared that the franchise should be defeated. The rest pick at flyspecks in the proposed franchise, while printing the railway company's advertising and printing all the letters it can induce broken-down politicians and others to write. It should be explained, by the way, that the street-railway company pays the newspapers for printing all the letters from "citizens" that they can get.

And all of this in the face of the fact that the people were unquestionably opposed to the franchise when it was first submitted and will be opposed to it to the end unless misled by the silenced newspapers. When the franchise was first brought out, the newspaper that had long carried the declaration against "any" franchise took a straw vote on the street-railway question among all classes of citizens. The newspaper's reporters went up and down streets, polling the vote of everybody, went into the big down-town office-buildings and into the factories. Three thousand votes were polled, and the vote showed a nine to one majority against the franchise. Another indication of public sentiment may be obtained from the fact that as soon as Mayor Codd brought out the franchise, a candidate appeared against him for the Republican nomination for mayor—it having previously been conceded that the mayor would have no opposition—and another candidate joined the two others who were striving for the Democratic nomination. All of the Democratic candidates and the opposition Republican candidate made their campaigns solely on opposition to the granting of the franchise. It happened that the Republican who took the field against Mayor Codd was a physician who did not believe that it comported with his dignity to make a fight for the nomination, and he did not make a speech or a move during the campaign preceding the primaries, nor did anybody make a speech in his behalf. Yet it is significant that the opposition Republican candidate polled 10,713 votes while Mayor Codd, who conducted a strenuous campaign with the aid of the street-

railway company and was nominated, polled only 19,209 votes. Briefly stated, the Republican and Democratic candidates who opposed the franchise and made their campaigns on no other issue received a total vote of 29,689, while Mayor Codd received 19,209.

But it is not certain that the people will not be misled into voting for the franchise on November 6th. If the newspapers would make a fight the franchise could easily be defeated. But only one newspaper is fighting. The rest are doing something else.

That the newspapers that are not fighting the franchise have been bribed by the advertising the street-railway company has given them, and that the street-railway company intended the advertising as a bribe, is plain. For the first two or three weeks the company's advertisements contained alleged facts about its business that every newspaper in Detroit would have been eager to print as news, because the statements contained news value. But the company saw the advantage of offering to pay big prices for printing what the newspapers would have willingly printed for nothing if no money had been offered. And after the company had published all the facts it had to give, it filled up the advertising space it had bought with inconsequential drivel that could serve no other purpose than to keep the newspapers silent.

The franchise is vicious and ought to be defeated. The company that asks for it is tremendously over-capitalized and seeks to obtain the continuance of conditions that will enable it to pay dividends on its watered stock. In 1899, the late Governor Pingree sought to have the city take over the ownership of the system, the company, of which Tom L. Johnson was then the principal owner, offering to sell for \$17,500,000. Professor Bemis, at that time, appraised the physical property of the company at \$7,806,737. The rest of the proposed purchase price was to represent the value of the franchises. Since then the company has built only ten miles of new tracks, yet it is now stocked and bonded for \$28,007,000.

But even in the face of such robbery, what can the people do if their only source of information—the press and the public speakers—are packed against them?

And what becomes of republican institutions when the people are denied the facts that must guide them if they cast intelligent votes?

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Public Ownership versus Private Ownership of Public Utilities.

GENTLEMEN who object to the public-ownership of public utilities are making much of these facts:

That gross mismanagement of the Staten Island ferry under public-ownership has greatly increased the cost of operation without improving the service;

That Germany, which has made a success of the public-ownership and operation of railroads, has nevertheless solved the problem of operating a mileage which is approximately only a tenth of the mileage of the American railroads.

Those who are using the Staten Island ferry example as a bludgeon against public-ownership argue that it constitutes absolute proof of the impracticability of the plan.

Those who are citing the instance of the German railroads—as did the *New York World* in an editorial printed shortly after the return of Mr. Bryan from his world-trip—argue that while it is palpably possible for a government to own and operate a small system of railways like the German system, that it would be out of the question for any government to succeed at the management of so great a group of railways as our own.

But let's investigate these arguments.

Does any advocate of public-ownership contend that it would be possible to make collective operation succeed under the kind of management that would be afforded by the governing bodies that now control American cities?

Is it not one of the arguments of public-ownership advocates that such ownership would remove from office the aldermen, mayors and others whom franchise-holding and franchise-seeking public-service corporations now put into power to do their bidding?

Even the *New York World* admits that the administration that has wasted money in its management of the Staten Island ferry is an administration that is dominated by the traction company, the telephone company, the electric-lighting company and the other private monopolies that at election time resort to such desperate methods to count their candidates into office.

Is it at all *strange* that the official representatives of such interests—men who seek public office not to serve the people but to accept

bribes from corporations—should mismanage the Staten Island ferry?

Ought anyone to have expected anything else?

Yet must cities be denied, until their public bodies become pure, the opportunity that public-ownership affords to save the enormous profits that now go to private corporations?

When a physician finds in a closed room a man who has been nearly asphyxiated from escaping gas, does he decline to take the man from the room until he shall have regained consciousness and become stronger?

Are n't privately-owned public-service corporations asphyxiating our public bodies as effectively as gas can asphyxiate an individual?

And is n't it plain that our public bodies will never recover—never become pure—until we remove the cause of their impurity—the public-service corporations?

In any event who can refute the statement that if all of the public-service corporations were legislated out of existence by the taking over of their properties by the public, that their legislative and executive tools would simultaneously disappear, to the vast improvement of municipal official life?

Then why argue that the principle of public-ownership is impracticable because the Staten Island ferry is mismanaged by the MacClellan administration?

And why talk about postponing public-ownership until such time as we shall have ridden ourselves of corrupt administration?

We shall always have corrupt administrations so long as we permit the existence of the public-service corporations that find it profitable to corrupt public officials.

Nor should the fact be forgotten that public-ownership, so far as it pertains to public utilities, is essentially an anti-graft measure—a measure to enable the people to clear their councils and mayors' offices of corporation tools and get for themselves the legislation they really need. And beside this great achievement, any benefit that may come as the result of saving the profits that now go to private owners will be insignificant in comparison.

Taking up the contention of the *New York World* that while public-ownership of railroads has succeeded in Germany, it could not succeed in the United States with its vastly greater railway mileage, there is only this to say: It is the stock argument of the defenders

of things as they are. New Zealand can become mildly socialistic to her great profit and advantage, *because it is a small country.* Switzerland can prosper under the initiative and the referendum, *because it is a small country.* Any improvement in government, it would appear, is quite likely to succeed if only it be applied *in a small country*, or in a small way. But do none of these gentlemen ever take note of the fact that bad government always works as badly in a small country as in a large one? Have they forgotten that under bad government New Zealand, little though it was, touched the bottom of the pit of misery? Then why contend that it is only bad government that works alike in small and in great countries while good government in all its phases can be applied with success only in small nations? As well argue that while it is possible for a small nation to feed and equip an army of 20,000 men that it would be impossible for a large nation to feed and equip an army of 1,000,000 men.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason for doubting that James J. Hill, or any one of a dozen other men could manage all of the railroads in the United States, and with an eye only to the public welfare, give better service than is now given by men working oftentimes at cross-purposes to secure for their own lines the greatest profits.

And with the public-service corporations eliminated from politics, as they would be under public-ownership, a man like Hill is

the kind of a man who would be chosen as the head of the railroad department.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

Mr. Bryan's Logic Must Make Him a Socialist Unless He or Someone Else Can Destroy The Trusts.

MR. BRYAN says that "private monopoly is intolerable and indefensible" and that "public-ownership should begin where competition ends."

The Socialists say the same.

Socialists differ from Mr. Bryan only in believing that competition cannot be and should not be restored—that coöperation, with the public as the coöperators is vastly preferable to any kind of private ownership.

Agreeing with the Socialists as Mr. Bryan does that public-ownership is preferable to private monopoly, the force of his own logic must compel him to become a Socialist unless he or someone else can destroy the trusts that already control every important branch of American industry.

The question thus arises: How long before the trusts will be destroyed or Mr. Bryan will become a Socialist?

And in speculating upon the possibility that the force of Mr. Bryan's own logic will compel him to become a Socialist, it may be well to remember that four years ago he believed the railroad question could be solved without the application of the principle of public-ownership.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

THE HEALTHY GROWTH OF COÖPERATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE RECENTLY issued report of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Congress of the Coöperative Union of Great Britain shows the present membership of the coöperative societies, so far as returns have been given to the Congress, to be 2,259,479, an increase of over fifty thousand in membership since the report of the preceding year.

The sales for the past year amounted to £94,195,514, or considerably over \$450,000,000. The profits amounted to £10,458,163, or over \$52,000,000. This enormous sum that for the most part gives back to the coöperators, under the old régime would have gone to middlemen or to pay for the waste of

competitive warfare; and under conditions such as prevail in America it would go to further enrich trust magnates and monopolists. The coöperators of Great Britain are giving the world one of the most inspiring and important lessons for the incoming generation—a lesson in which practical wisdom is as clearly evinced as is the spirit of fraternity or brotherhood. Coöperation replaces the old régime of competitive war and waste on the one hand, and the union of the few for the exploitation of the many on the other, by a union of the wealth-creators and consumers for the mutual benefit of all.

"THE RAILWAYS, THE TRUSTS AND THE PEOPLE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. WHY THIS WORK OUTRANKS ALL OTHER VOLUMES ON THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

THIS WORK, which is as authoritative in character as it is exhaustive in scope and treatment, is incomparably the most important book on the railways that has appeared from any pen. Never before have the facts germane to all phases of this great question been investigated at first hand in so extended and exhaustive a manner as was done by Professor Parsons. Before he set to work to prepare his book he traveled over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the purpose of ascertaining from every authoritative source all facts and all views on each phase of the railroad problem that could be obtained from those in position to know. During the investigation he interviewed the most eminent railway specialists of the land and the working officers of various roads, together with persons in the different departments of the service; also shippers and others who had dealings with the railway companies. He interviewed statesmen and members of committees of investigation appointed by legislative and other bodies.

Next Professor Parsons went to Europe to obtain all possible facts of importance from the Old World. He spent several months in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, France and other countries. Here again he obtained interviews from various leading authorities,—ministers of railways, officers of the leading lines, parliamentary leaders, economists, and the great shippers of England and the Continent. In his preface he points out the fact that materials for the preparation of the work "were gathered in the course of many thousands of miles of travel covering three-fourths of the United States and most of the principal countries of Europe. Libraries were consulted in every country visited, and railway ministers and managers and leading authorities almost without exception afforded every assistance in their power. Leading railroad officials of

twenty countries besides our own have been consulted and have given freely of their wealth of knowledge. Besides the Secretary and members of the English Board of Trade and Railway Commission, the Ministers of Railways in France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Germany and Belgium, and the President of the Danish Government railways, the writer has talked with many railroad managers and others high in the service in all these countries, and also with leading officials of the railroads of Norway, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. The privilege of directly questioning men who have all the facts at their fingers' ends and vocal termini, is of inestimable value in research of this sort, and the writer wishes to render hearty thanks to all who have so cordially assisted him. Among these are many not directly connected with railway service but familiar with the economic, political or social aspects of the problem."

With all the facts obtainable in hand, as a result of four years of the most exacting and painstaking research, Professor Parsons set to work to prepare this volume. He was greatly embarrassed, however, because of the wealth of information he had obtained. Every phase of the subject investigated yielded enough important facts to constitute a volume. The work of condensing all this information, so that the most salient and vital facts should be retained, while treating the subject at once in an authoritative yet pleasing and popular manner, was a task that called for far more skill than most persons who write on social and economic problems possess. Happily for America, Professor Parsons brought to the work a trained and eminently judicial mind. His legal training and wide experience as an author of legal text-books, and his equally useful experience as a teacher, gained during his long service as a professor in the Boston University School of Law and in chairs in various other educational institutions, enabled him judicially to weigh the evidence, to sift, discriminate and marshal the important facts in a pleasing and attractive manner. The result is that we at last have an exhaustive and authoritative work that is ex-

* *The Railways, The Trusts and The People.* By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph.D. Price, \$1.50. (In paper, two volumes, price 25 cents per volume.) Pp. 644. Philadelphia: Equity Series, Dr. C. F. Taylor, Publisher, 1520 Chestnut street.

tremely clear and interesting while affording the most complete and satisfactory view of the railway question and the true relation of the railways to commercial enterprises, to the government and to the people, that has been published in any land.

II. THE SCOPE OF THE WORK.

The work is divided into two parts. The first division deals with leading and basic facts in the history of American railways and discusses in a detailed way the evils and abuses that have made the railway problem an overshadowing political and economic issue. The second part analyzes the railway problem in a brilliant and illuminating manner, showing how other nations have met and solved the question and overcome the great evils that have become rampant in America, where these evils had been permitted to spring into existence. This division of the work, as the author in his preface points out, gives "the history and results of various systems of railway management and control in other lands, discussing broad questions of policy, capitalization, safety, economy, rate-making, treatment of employes, political, industrial and social effects of public and private railways, and the remedies that have been proposed for the abuses and difficulties that beset our transportation system in this country to-day. The second part, in short, aims at the causes and the remedies for the transportation ills described in the first part and further elucidated by the additional facts brought out in the second division of the work."

In noticing this volume it will only be possible briefly to glance at a few of the subjects which are dwelt upon in a masterly manner, and to make short extracts from the work which will prove suggestive to thoughtful Americans and which will also, we trust, lead all our readers to secure the work, which we believe it to be the solemn duty of every patriot to carefully peruse.

III. RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION AND THE PART THE RAILWAYS HAVE PLAYED IN CREATING A FEUDALISM OF MONOPOLISTIC WEALTH.

After presenting in a striking and fascinating manner a pen-picture of the railway empire in the United States, Professor Parsons proceeds to discuss "Allied Interests," in which he shows how railway consolidation has progressed and gone hand in hand with the con-

centration of vast riches in the hands of a few all-powerful men. Here is shown trust concentration, with all the evils of monopoly, moving forward with irresistible stride, largely by virtue of alliance with the railways.

"Railroad consolidation began in 1853," says our author, "when ten little railways covering 297 miles between Albany and Buffalo were merged into the New York Central Railroad. Now the Vanderbilt system covers 22,000 miles; there is another system with 47,000 miles; another with 28,000 miles, etc.; and these systems are interlocking and merging into a Railroad Trust controlling nearly 178,000 miles of vital railways, or nearly all the important lines in the country.

"The formation of vast industrial trusts began in 1872, when the anthracite coal combination was formed by an alliance of producers and carriers and when the interests which compose the Standard Oil Trust first began to work in harmony with each other and use the power of their railroad allies to clear the field of competitors. To-day there are 450 to 500 trusts, with an aggregate capitalization, including the railroad and other franchise trusts, of something like \$20,000,000,000. And still more trusts are forming and the limits of existing trusts are being extended and their interlocking interests increased and intensified. They are reaching out after the land, and the control of market, labor, and raw materials. They are establishing international relationships aiming to monopolize the globe in their lines of business. And they are joining hands with each other.

"On the whole the situation seems to be this: The railways and other big franchise monopolies are coördinating with the great combines into a gigantic machine controlled by a few financiers and created to manufacture or capture profit for them. Events are moving toward a consolidation of interests that will give a handful of capitalists practically imperial power through the vastness of their industrial dominions."

The railroads have been one of the great fostering causes of monopoly.

"In Germany," observes our author, "I was told that the comparative immunity of Germany from such aggressive trusts and monopolies as those that prevail in the United States must be attributed chiefly to the fact that all producers and dealers are treated im-

partially by the state railways. In this country it is matter of history and legislative investigation that some of the trusts, the Oil Trust, Coal Trust, Sugar Trust, Beef Trust, etc., owe their development largely to railway rebates and special transit privileges. If a railway manager has an interest in a coal mine, iron company, or oil combine, he will be likely to give it advantages that will add greatly to its power of crushing its rivals. Nothing pays better in the organization of a trust or any great business enterprise than to have some strong railroad men in the combine, even if you have to make them a present of the stock. And when the same men own and control both the railways on the one hand and the coal mines, steel mills, etc., on the other, it is clear that all the properties will be handled as a unit to destroy rival interests, enlarge the profit and power and accomplish the purposes of the omnivorous owners."

Professor Parsons next proceeds to give a number of concrete and typical examples of how the trusts, by alliance with the railways, rob the people:

"These owners sometimes use their power in ways that seem detrimental and oppressive to people who are not represented in the combines. For example, a legislative investigation in New York brought out the fact that the Milk Trust of the Metropolis, in league with the railways, fixed the price to the consuming public at seven and eight cents a quart, while allowing the farmer but three cents. And Federal investigation has shown that the 'Big Four,' Armour, Swift, Morris and Hammond, constituting the Meat Trust, adopted a plan of indeterminate prices to the great confusion and loss of farmers and ranchmen raising cattle and hogs. If few cattle trains were coming, prices were put up. Farmers seeing the improved quotations would ship their stock. When the telegraph told the combine that many cattle were coming in they would put prices down. The cattle would soon eat their heads off if held in Chicago. There were practically no other buyers than the Trust for the great capital invested and the advantages which such immense dealers have in the matter of railroad rates and transit accommodations enabled them to clear the market of competitors. So the farmers had nothing to do but sell their stock to the Trust at whatever price it chose to fix. The resulting loss to the producers of a single Western State has

been estimated at fifty millions in a decade."

Two of the most deeply interesting and instructive chapters deal with "Railway Discrimination" and "Railway Favoritism" and how the railways foster monopoly, after which the author passes to a consideration of the "Railways in Politics." This chapter should be published in leaflet form and circulated by the millions. It shows in an overwhelmingly conclusive manner how the railways have become the real masters of government in so far as it relates to legislation touching transportation problems and how this rule is accomplished by graft and corruption at every stage, so demoralizing in character that immediate and positive remedies are imperatively demanded on ethical if on no other grounds.

"In Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and other commonwealths, the governments control the railways. In the United States to a large extent the railways control the government.

"After traveling through many lands, studying railway systems, gathering facts and opinions from ministers and managers of railways public and private, talking with leading men of all classes and interests, and meeting railroad delegates from all over the world at the International Railway Congress in Washington, the conclusion rolls into my consciousness and forces itself upon my attention, that this greatest of all republics is the only country on earth of any importance that is dominated by industrial interests in the hands of private corporations, among which the railroads and their allies are the chief.

"Government by and for the railroads has attained a high development in the United States. James A. Garfield said in the National House, June 22, 1874: 'The corporations have become conscious of their strength, and have entered upon the work of controlling the States. Already they have captured some of the oldest and strongest of them, and these discrowned sovereigns now follow in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors. And this does not imply that merely the officers and representatives of States have been subjected to the railways, but that the corporations have grasped the sources and fountains of power, and control the choice of both officers and representatives.'

"Wendell Phillips stated the situation years ago when he said, 'Tom Scott goes through

the country with three hundred millions at his back, and every legislature in his path gets down on its knees before him.' And the political power of our railway kings has not diminished with the expansions and consolidations that have given us railroad potentates with one thousand and even two thousand millions at their backs. Legislative bodies from city councils to Congress, administrative officers from sheriffs and assessors to governors, and judicial authorities from police judges to courts of last resort, are permeated, and in many cases saturated, with railroad influence.

"At the national capital and in more than twenty of our States I have studied railroad conditions. Everywhere I have found powerful railroad lobbies. In nearly every case the dominance of railroad influence in respect to legislation affecting transportation interests is a settled fact, except during spasms of popular upheaval. And in a number of States the government is little more than a railroad annex."

In the following we have one of the many concrete illustrations that crowd the pages of this volume and illustrate various points under discussion. In this special instance the typical illustration in question affords a striking example of methods or tactics employed by the army of railway henchmen in the Senate and House, to prevent the passage of any legislation which aims to protect and guard the people's interests but which will incur additional expenses in the railway system.

"The United States Constitution provides that *no United States Senator shall take any present or emolument from a prince or potentate*. Yet they are continually taking presents and emoluments from railway magnates, who are surely potentates if we interpret the law according to its reason and substance, as Blackstone says we must, and test the matter not by names but by looking to the actual power which is the essence of potentateism.

"To what lengths these railroad senators will go to carry out the purposes of their masters even in comparatively small affairs is shown by a story I had from the lips of one of the leading actors. In 1901 a bill requiring the railroads to report all accidents to the Interstate Commerce Commission passed the House and went to the Senate. It was pigeon-holed in the Committee on Interstate Commerce, of which Senator Cullom, of Illinois, was chairman. The Hon. R. F. Pettigrew,

Republican Senator from South Dakota, at last introduced a resolution discharging the committee from further consideration of the bill and ordering it placed on the calendar. Senator Cullom said this was a slight on his committee. Senator Pettigrew replied that the committee ought to be slighted, it ought to report the bill favorably or unfavorably, it did n't matter which, but report it so the Senate could get action on it. Senator Cullom said that if Senator Pettigrew would not press his resolution, he (Cullom) would get his committee together next day and report the bill. He did, and the committee reported adversely. A few days later Senator Cullom asked to have the bill recommitted, saying that the committee desired to suggest amendments. The recommitment was agreed to and again the bill was put in cold storage. After a time Senator Pettigrew put in another motion to withdraw the bill from committee. Senator Cullom said he'd get his committee together that afternoon. He did, and reported the bill with amendments calculated to kill it. But the dangerous amendments were eliminated by a rare combination of effort and good fortune. Day after day Senator Pettigrew held the Senate to the bill, while the railway people fought it. There were sixty or seventy private measures—jobs the senators wanted to get through. These local bills have little or no chance of going through if they are fought, so that in practice unanimous consent is necessary to pass them. Senator Pettigrew held up these private bills. It was very near the end of the session. Senators pleaded with Pettigrew to let their bills be passed and then they'd take up the Railroad Accident bill and vote for it. But Pettigrew said, 'No, I'll kill off every one of your jobs if you do n't act on this bill.' Finally the Senate struck out the dangerous amendments, leaving only some unobjectionable changes, and passed the bill the day before the close of the session, and Senator Cullom was among those who voted for it. The railway people thought it was too late for the House to act on the measure, accepting the changes, etc. But Senator Pettigrew had arranged the matter with Speaker Henderson. The Speaker said, 'When the bill comes back to the House, have some one move to accept the Senate amendments and I'll put it to a vote at once. I won't waste a minute.' This was done, and the bill passed and was signed by the speaker. Then it disappeared. Only four hours more of the ses-

sion and the bill could not be found. Senator Pettigrew sent a messenger to hunt it up. He looked long and earnestly, but in vain, till he came to a drawer which a clerk of the enrolling department said was a private drawer and could not be searched. The messenger said he would search it if he had to get the sergeant-at-arms to help him, so the clerk yielded and the missing bill was found tucked away back in that 'private' drawer. The clerk in question was a *protégé* of Senator Sewell, one of the Pennsylvania Railroad senators from New Jersey, who procured his appointment to the enrolling department. The astute railroad senator from New Jersey had coached his friend in the enrolling department to watch for the obnoxious bill and hide it away till the session was over and it was too late for it to be signed by the President of the Senate. Then it would die a natural death.

"If the railroads and their senators will use such methods to kill a little innocent bill to require full reports of accidents, what will they not do to prevent legislation of a really vital character?"

Of the sinister and subversive sway of the railways in politics Professor Parsons says:

"The railroads pack caucuses and conventions, dominate elections, control legislatures, commissions, and courts, get their men appointed on important boards and committees, choose national representatives, elect or defeat at will in many cases even United States Senators. They have their men on the State and National Committees of the great parties. They are charged with organizing their employés for political purposes and using their votes *en masse* so far as possible without coming into the open. It is even claimed that the railroads and allied interests have in several instances determined presidential elections, either by carrying the nominating convention of the leading party, or by organizing and instructing their employés, or by raising a massive campaign fund to buy up doubtful states.

"Henry Ward Beecher said in 1881 that five or ten men controlling ten thousand miles of railroads and billions of property, had their hands on the throat of commerce; and 'if they should need to have a man in sympathy with them in the executive chair it would require only five pockets to put him there.'

"This is probably true except when the

people are thoroughly aroused, or a leader of splendid powers and high character sweeps aside the ordinary plans and possibilities of political campaigns.

"The same principles apply within the states in the election of governors. A great leader like LaFollette can win in the teeth of the railroads, but as a rule the railroads are able to see that no one they have reason to believe opposed to their interests shall become the chief executive, and in a number of states the governors are men whose support the railroads can implicitly rely upon. Even governors who are naturally inclined to be independent are frequently paralyzed by railroad legislatures, or lulled into innocuous desuetude by railroad favors."

These are merely the opening paragraphs in a long and powerful discussion of this question, in which the author marshals a vast array of official and authoritative data that cannot fail to produce conviction in the mind of every reader capable of coherent thought.

A chapter of special value deals with "Watered Stock and Capital Frauds." "To railroad men from Germany, Denmark, Belgium, and other countries where the railroads are public property," says Professor Parsons, "nothing in our railway system is more astonishing—not even our railway favoritism and railroad politics—than the exhaustless freedom with which we allow our railroad manipulators to water and inflate the capitalization on which the people must pay dividends and interest."

No government having any serious concern for the rights and well-being of the people, and no government not dominated by privileged interests, would for a moment tolerate the systematic stock-watering that has disgraced America and rendered it possible for a few unscrupulous gamblers and railway magnates to levy extortionate passenger and freight rates. Only by this method of watering stock, which the government has culpably permitted, has it been possible for the exploiters to cover up the enormous dividends earned on the actual capital invested. But by the government becoming the tool of the railways and recreant to its trust, the public-service companies have been able to juggle with capital, water stock, and employ various methods to prevent the people from finding out to what an extent they are being robbed through extortion and indirect methods, for the benefit of gamblers and railroad manipulators whose interests are so

dear to the Spooners and the Baileys, the Forakers and the Danielises, the Knoxes and the Depews, the Platts and the Cranes, the Lodges and the Aldriches, the Elkinises and the Keans in the United States Senate. That these gentlemen are thrown into a panic when any statesman demands that the nation shall own and operate the railways in the interests of all the people, instead of permitting the railways longer to own and operate the government in the interests of Wall-street gamblers and a privileged few, is not any more surprising than it is suggestive.

With a government like that of New Zealand, where the interests and concern of all the people are the supreme concern of the officials throughout the commonwealth, these guardians of corporation interests might easily find their occupation gone.

IV. GAMBLING AND MANIPULATION OF STOCKS.

The government displays unctuous rectitude in its pretended abhorrence of gambling and the little gambler, the promoter of a lottery or game of chance is proceeded against with relentless zeal; but the most brazen, bare-faced and iniquitous of all gamblers,—the great Wall-street gamblers who systematically play with stacked cards and loaded dice and who use the railways of the nation as their playthings, are not only undisturbed, but Presidents, Senators and fat-frying national committeemen delight to entertain them, frequently defer to their views, and show them all the consideration which honorable and upright business men alone are entitled to. In his chapter on "Gambling and Manipulation of Stock" Professor Parsons lifts the lid and gives us glimpses of this nation-enservating crime as it flowers to-day. Space forbids our quoting more than one or two characteristic illustrations as cited by our author:

"The tremendous frauds that may be accomplished through the manipulation of stock by cunning and unscrupulous railroad potentates find ample illustration in the history of the Erie Railway.

"In 1866 Mr. Daniel Drew, the treasurer of the Erie Railroad, and a noted Wall-street operator, received from the company (as security for a loan of \$3,500,000) 28,000 unissued shares and bonds for \$3,000,000, convertible into stock upon demand. Drew began to operate with Erie stock. He sold short,

and when it rose to 95 he converted his bonds, dumped 58,000 shares upon the market, bringing the quotation down to 50, realizing millions of dollars by the deal.

"Soon after this Commodore Vanderbilt began to buy Erie stock in order to get control of the road. The Erie ring fed the Commodore with Erie stock straight from the printing press as fast as he would buy it. Under a blank authority given by the board of directors the executive committee voted to issue at once convertible bonds for \$10,000,000, and so when Vanderbilt thought he almost had the Erie in his grasp, this mighty mass of 100,000 shares of new stock was hanging like an avalanche over his head. In one day 50,000 shares of new Erie stock were flung upon the market. Vanderbilt was buying. His agents caught at the new stock as eagerly as at the old, and the whole of it was absorbed before its origin was suspected, and almost without a falter in the price. Then fresh certificates appeared and the truth became known. Erie fell, the market reeled, and Vanderbilt had difficulty to sustain himself and avert a crisis. He began legal proceedings and the Erie ring fled to Jersey City, one individual carrying with him bales containing \$6,000,000 in greenbacks. Vanderbilt had absorbed 100,000 shares of Erie and Drew had captured \$7,000,000 of his antagonist's money. Erie had been watered and the Commodore's plan had failed. As he expressed it, he could easily enough buy up the Erie Railway, but he could not buy up the printing press.

"In July, 1868, Jim Fisk and Jay Gould came into full control of the Erie Railroad and sometime afterward a sworn statement of the secretary of the company revealed the fact that the stock of the road had been increased from \$34,265,300 on the first of July to \$57,766,300 on the 24th of October of the same year, or by 235,000 shares in the four months. This, too, had been done without consultation of the board of directors and with no authority but that conferred by the resolution of February 19th. Under that blank vote the stock of the road had now been increased 138 per cent. in eight months."

Professor Parsons is always just and careful to give due credit where credit is merited. "Our railway system as a whole," he observed, "must not be deemed fraudulently speculative. Stock jobbing is not the main purpose with most of our roads, though it is an element

more or less strongly developed or else an incident in all. The point is that our system leaves the door open to such practices and intensifies the prevalent longing for unearned gain by the prospect of the prodigious sums to be realized, and by the facilities afforded by the possession of irresponsible power."

He closes this chapter with some excellent observations on this form of gambling, of which the following are excerpts:

"What is the nature of these stock transactions? Is the winning of millions by betting on railway stocks with all who choose to take the offer, any different from winning thousands by betting in the Louisiana lottery? Is the buying and selling of large amounts of stock on margin in the stock exchange essentially different from buying and selling small amounts of the same stock on margin in the policy shop? Is it really any nobler to bet a million on the rise of stocks you know you can and will make rise than to bet a hundred on a game of cards with a sure thing in trumps and aces up your sleeves?

"There is a difference in results, of course. The man who wins millions on the stock exchange is petted and admired, whether he fixes the game or not; but policy-shop people and card gamblers are not admitted to good society.

"But with all the difference of tangible results to the actors, is there any real difference in the ethical nature of the proceedings? Is there any real difference in the effect upon the morals of the people or the ideals of youth, except that the giant gambler of the railway, with his colossal winnings, does more than the little man to make a speculative life seem more attractive than a life of honest labor?"

V. RAILROAD GRAFT AND OFFICIAL ABUSE.

If no other indictment could be fairly brought against the managers and manipulators of the railway system of America than that it is the most prolific breeder of graft, the fact that this demoralizing influence has become nation-wide and is in evidence everywhere where the trail of the railway power is found, would be sufficient reason for demanding the overthrow of the present régime. The graft-breeding character of the railway system has seldom if ever been more clearly or convincingly set forth than by Professor Parsons in his chapter on "Railroad Graft and Official Abuse."

"Scratch our railroad system almost anywhere," says our author, "and you'll find graft. 'Graft' is the street name, fast becoming the literary name also, for the fraudulent perversion of power or property to private advantage. Every chapter so far in this book has contained illustrations of railroad graft. There is graft in consolidation for the purpose of keeping rates above the fair competitive level and squeezing an unearned increment or monopoly profit out of the public. There is graft in the giving of free passes and rebates, excessive mileage, and elevator fees, midnight tariffs, favoritism in the distribution of cars, speed of transport, etc., private-car and terminal railroad abuses, and all the multitude of devices by which railroads give unjust advantages to favor shippers, or to localities and industries in which the managers or their friends or other persons with a pull are interested. There is graft in the building of giant monopolies which are simply fortresses of industrial and political graft. There is graft in the railroad lobbies, the manipulation of nominations and elections, the purchase of legislators, the packing of committees, the subsidizing of newspapers and other means by which the railroads seek to control politics and change the form of government in this country so that we may not have republican government or government by and for the people, but corporation government or government by and for the railroads and their allies. There is graft in the giving of stock to influential men, the watering and inflation of capital, and the manipulation of stock for gambling purposes. And there are many other forms of railroad graft that we have not yet described."

Page after page is devoted to recitals of facts and the giving of examples that may well alarm and arouse thoughtful people. The Professor shows the multitudinous methods in which dishonesty and graft are practiced by the railway companies. One that is most common and which should interest every voter, as it affects his pocketbook, is thus alluded to:

"One of the commonest forms of railroad graft is the evasion of taxes, or arranging matters so that the public will have to pay a part or the whole of the share of taxation that should rest upon the railroads. This is accomplished in many states by procuring under-assessment of railroad properties so that the companies pay only a half, a third, a tenth, or even a twentieth of the tax they would pay if

assessed at the same ratio to real values that is applied to small property holders who have no free passes to give the assessors nor any other pull with the powers that be. Sometimes railroads even secure entire exemption from taxation for a term of years, as in Vermont, or in perpetuity, as in New Jersey, where 'one-quarter of the property of the state belongs to the railroads and is exempt from taxation', compelling the people to pay \$2,000,000 annually in taxes that ought to be paid by the railroads."

VI. THE POST-OFFICE SCANDAL; OR, WHERE
THE RAILWAYS SYSTEMATICALLY PRACTICE
ROBBERY BY EXTORTION.

Nowhere is graft more brazenly practiced than in the carrying of the United States mails. Nowhere does the bare-faced robbery of the American people exhibit at once the depths of moral turpitude to which the government itself has fallen and the absolute and imperious power exerted by the corrupt railway interests over the recreant public servants that are seen in the contracts with the railways for mail service. The postal deficit is a deficit only because our railways are owned by private parties on the one hand, and because the government is also the servant of these unscrupulous interests on the other. In his chapter on "The Railways and the Postal Service" Professor Parsons lays bare this unholy alliance on the part of a department of government with the railways which is a confession that the government is the tool of the interests.

"Another and most grievous form of graft," says the author, "consists in excessive charges for the carriage of the mails. While the railways in other countries carry the mails for nothing or at cost, our Government has to pay much higher rates than private shippers. The railway tax on the transmission of intelligence is one of the worst handicaps resulting from our transportation system. For hauling mails the railways receive from the Government from two to four times as much as they get from the express companies for equal haulage, more than twice what they get for carrying commutation passengers and excess baggage equal weights and distances, two to five times their charges for first-class freight, twelve times what they receive for some of their dairy freight, and sixteen times what they get for the mass of common freight."

Professor Parsons cites at length from Professor Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, the statistician of the United States Commerce Commission, giving Professor Adams' tables, after which he continues:

"On these estimates the railway receipts from the express between New York and Boston would average 50 cents per hundred, and 38 cents for first-class freight, against 89 cents for the mails; New York to Chicago, 75 cents freight, \$1.25 express, and \$3.56 mail; New York to Atlanta, \$1.26 freight, \$2 express, and \$3.50 mail; Chicago to Milwaukee, 25 cents freight, 30 cents express, 34 cents mail per hundred (this seems fairly reasonable); New York to San Francisco, \$3 freight, \$6.75 express, and \$13.28 mail (this seems very unreasonable); Atlanta to Savannah, 61 cents freight, 87 cents express, and \$3.17 mail (more unreasonable still).

"These and other data too numerous for insertion here indicate that as a rule railways receive for express 50 to 100 per cent. more than for first class freight, and for mail 100 to 300 per cent. more than for express.

"A specific case will show more clearly the relation between railway receipts from mail and express. The New York Central gets 40 per cent. of the gross earnings of the express company operating over its line. The result is the following relation between mail and express for the route from New York to Buffalo, 439 miles.

"Railway earnings per year for 125 tons of mail daily.....	\$1,447,840
"Railway earnings per year for 125 tons of express daily.....	436,250

"Railway officers claim that the value received from the express should be put somewhat above the 40 per cent. contract division of earnings because the express performs some 'gratuitous' service in the handling of railway packages, etc., but even make full allowance for this and all other claims of the railroads in relation to such comparison, as Adams does on page 22 of the 'Railway Mail Pay' report, the railway value from express would only be \$570,312 in the above statement, against \$1,447,840 from the mail without counting receipts for postal-car rentals or value resulting from the stimulation of traffic due to the mails.

"The census of 1890 affords the means of a very broad and instructive comparison. From that census we learn that the express companies paid the railways \$19,327,000 for

carrying 3,292,000,000 pounds of express matter, or 6-10 of a cent a pound. The same year Postmaster-General Wanamaker reported the weight of the mail, paid and free, to be 365,368,417 pounds, or 1-9 of the express weight, and by no means all of this was carried by the railways, yet they received \$22,102,000 for less than a tenth of the weight the railways hauled for the express companies for several millions less money. The rate per pound on mail was fully ten times the rate per pound on express. The average haul for express is estimated at 25 to 50 per cent. less than for mail. So that the ton-mile rate for mail appears to have been at least five times as much as for express, according to the data of the census and the Postmaster-General. Since 1890 the express companies have carefully refrained from allowing the census people or any other public authorities to acquire the facts necessary to a broad and accurate comparison.

"The express companies carry magazines and newspapers 500 miles and more at a cent a pound and the railways get less than $\frac{1}{4}$ a cent a pound, or two cents a ton-mile. That is not all. Any general express agent will tell you that the company will shade the rate for a large shipper. For example, *The Cosmopolitan* is carried from New York to Boston, 219 miles, for 18 cents a hundred, or less than 1-5 of a cent a pound. This is at the rate of 1.6 cents per ton-mile for the express company and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent a ton-mile for the railways, a rate about 1-16 of the average mail rate and 1-9 of the lowest mail rate on the lines where the volume of mail is greatest. The railways charge the government about 3 cents a pound for hauling second-class matter, according to Professor Adams, and 8 cents according to Postmaster-General Wilson, but the same stuff for the express companies for less than a tenth of a cent a pound. And if the railways had any serious objection to such rates they would hardly have permitted them to continue all these years, but would have provided against them in their contracts with the express companies.

"The mail rate ought not to be higher than the railway rates on express or excess baggage, and should probably be lower than the average excess baggage rate. It is traffic, steady, homogeneous, easily handled, and admits of economy from every point of view. It does not entail any such expenses for storage, loading and unloading, etc., as pertain to baggage.

Station expenses are eliminated. There is practically nothing but the cost of haulage. Wellington, our highest authority in railway economics, says that only 70 per cent. of railway expense is due to transportation. On this basis the railway mail rate would be about 1-3 less than that charged for excess baggage, or about 4 cents per ton-mile instead of 12.

"The following table presents the case from the standpoint of probable total cost on the various bases we have discussed.

"100,000,000 TON-MILES OF MAIL.

"At average railway express rates would cost perhaps.....	\$5,000,000
"At average excess baggage rates would cost perhaps.....	6,000,000
"At average freight rates would cost about.....	800,000
"At average freight rates, making correction for difference of dead load,	8,000,000
"At average passenger rates, making correction for difference of dead load.....	8,000,000
"At actual mail rates (1896).....	\$4,754,000

"In whatever way the subject is regarded, the railway mail pay seems many millions too large."

But the case of high-handed robbery against the American tax-payers, in which the American government is *particeps criminis*, does not stop with excessive charges for carrying the mails.

"In addition to the regular mail rates the government pays an extra charge for postal cars averaging \$6,250 a year per car, although the cost of construction of cars is but \$2,500 to \$5,000 each. For two 30-foot apartments in two combination cars, each carrying one ton of mail, the railways get no car rental; nothing but the mail weight rates; but for a 60-foot postal car with an average load of two tons of mail, heated and lighted like the compartments, and with the same fixtures as the afore-said compartments plus a water tank, the roads receive \$6,250 a year special car-rent in addition to full rates for the weight of mail carried. This means \$5,368,000 a year for the rental of cars worth about \$4,000,000.

"The total pay received by the railways from the Government on account of the mail was \$44,499,732 for the year ending June 30, 1904. Out of a total expenditure of \$152,362,116, a part of the mail pay, viz., \$5,368,000, was paid as rentals for postal cars in addition to

excessive rates for the mail carried in the cars. The express companies do not pay rentals for use of express cars, neither does the Government pay for the use of postal apartments. There is no reason why it should pay rental for postal cars. The whole of this \$5,368,000 therefore should be cut out. As the remaining \$39,000,000 is paid on the basis of a rate at least two or three times greater than that received by the railways for the carriage of express, it is clear that the total railway mail pay should not exceed \$20,000,000 and, probably should be less than \$14,000,000 a year.

"The excess of \$24,000,000 or more which the Government now pays the railways for carriage of the mails is much more than sufficient to account for the postal deficit. For 1904 the Postmaster-General reported the deficit as \$8,812,769. The year before it was \$4,586,977. Sometimes it has been less than \$3,000,000 and at other times more than \$10,000,000. But there has been no year in which the excess railway mail pay would not have covered the deficit and left many millions of surplus besides, surplus enough to have justified the large extension of the free delivery system, the gradual establishment of the postal telegraph, and the introduction of the parcels-post, such as the nations of Europe enjoy."

How different is the action of a plutocracy or a government dominated by privileged wealth from that of a true republic in such matters as this is seen by a comparison of the course of our government with that pursued by Switzerland before that republic took over the railways.

"In Switzerland, where the roads were in private hands, the Minister of the Railways, in answer to my question, said: 'On the great railways the government pays nothing for the mails; their concessions require them to carry the mail free. On the small lines, if the dividends fall below 3½ per cent. the government pays the fair cost of carrying the mails; when the road attains 3½ per cent. it must carry the mails free.' This is the law relating to private railways."

If this whole discussion could be read by the millions of American voters, the great peril that has arisen from the people permitting a body of men to corrupt government and control it, to the detriment of all the people, would soon be a thing of the past. The great need of the present is the forcing home upon the consciousness

of the easy-going masses of the grave facts that will compel conviction—facts that will prove how they have been betrayed and how the great public opinion-forming agencies are systematically blinding the more thoughtless to the truths of the situation; and we know of no book published in recent months so well calculated to do this as *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, and perhaps no chapter in this book would accomplish more in this direction than this discussion on "The Railways and the Postal Service."

The next six chapters are devoted to "The Express," "The Chaos of Rates," "Taxation without Representation," "Railways and Panics," "Railway Strikes," and "Railway Wars." All of these discussions merit careful reading. They furnish an amazing and disquieting revelation and are pregnant with truths that it is of the utmost importance all thinking Americans should be cognizant of.

VII. ESSENTIAL ANARCHY; OR, THE SYSTEMATIC DEFIANCE OF LAW BY THE RAILWAYS.

Next our author takes up the subject of "Defiance of Law." Space prevents our giving more than two brief excerpts from this very important chapter.

"The railways and their allies," says Professor Parsons, "are chronic breakers of the law. It is part of the business of the ordinary railroad company to have the laws affecting transportation made to order so far as possible, and if not possible, then to defy, evade and nullify so much of the law as seriously conflicts with their purpose. Even in the process of manufacturing legislation according to their wish, they violate the most sacred principles of law and justice. The whole putrifying mass of election frauds and legislation bribery, some specimens of which were analyzed in a former chapter, is the result of defying laws intended to protect the purity of the ballot and defend the government against corruption. And the discriminations that permeate the railroad system from end to end, giving favored shippers an unfair advantage over their rivals, constitute another most dangerous defiance of the laws of the land, both statute and common, state and National.

"Long after the Interstate Commerce Act was passed forbidding such discriminations, President Stickney, of the Great Western Railroad, quoted with approval the statement

of another railway president that, 'If all (railroad officers) who had offended against the law were convicted, there would not be enough jails in the United States to hold them.'

"I pick up the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission and find that 568 complaints have been entered this year (1905) against the roads for violation of the Interstate Commerce Law. In 65 cases formal suits were instituted, involving directly the rates and practices of 321 railroads. Since the commission was established, in 1887, more than 4,580 complaints, formal and informal, have been filed, and about 800 suits have been brought for breaches of this one law and its amendments.

"Passes and rebates are constantly given in defiance of law, and the decisions of the Federal Commission are treated with contempt. Soon after the commission was established under the law of 1887, the independent mine-owners of Pennsylvania appealed to it. The Commission decided that the rates charged by the railroads were unreasonable and ordered them reduced. But the railroads ignored the decision, and two years afterward Congress found that the rates were 50 cents a ton higher than the Commission had decided to be just.

"Over one-third of the orders of the Commission have been completely disregarded by the railroads. Many times they have carried the matter into court, and by some technicality or defect of the law, or other contention (including the merits of the question in some cases) they have nearly always succeeded in nullifying the more important decisions of the Commission.

"In March, 1893, a Federal law was passed requiring the railroads to equip their trains with automatic couplers and air-brakes before the end of 1897. Some railroads complied, but most of them asked for an extension and some had only 20 per cent., 8 per cent. and even 6 per cent. of their cars equipped when the time expired. The law was contested in the courts and it was nearly twelve years before a decision (October, 1904) of the United States Supreme Court was obtained sustaining the constitutionality of the safety law."

After devoting considerable space to "Nullification of the Protective Tariff," "Railway Potentates," and "The Failure of Control," the author concludes the first part of the work by a brief but very thoughtful chapter on "The Irrepressible Conflict," in which he says:

"Why are our railroads burdened with evils

so many and so great as those we have found clinging to our railway system?

"Can we not discover the cause and remove it?

"Is not the main cause to be found in the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public, together with the vast power the ownership and management of these great monopolies confer?

"If this is the tap-root of evil, how can it be destroyed?

"Clearly the antagonism of interest between the owners and the public can be abolished by public ownership, which makes the owners and the public one and the same, and there does not seem to be any other way of uprooting the fundamental cause of disturbance in the railroad world.

"But may not the cause of evil, though left alive and in possession, be hedged in and controlled by regulative measures so as to prevent any serious consequences? Regulation can put more or less check on anti-public activities; the question is whether it can operate with sufficient effectiveness in a case where the anti-public interest is so vast and so powerful, without proceeding to lengths that amount practically to taking the roads, or the essential powers of ownership in them, for public use without compensation.

"So long as the roads are private property and managed by agents selected and paid by the private owners, the companies will be operated so far as possible for private profit and in the interest of the owners. Every law that attempts to interfere with this creates a new occasion and new motives to evade or nullify the law, or control the legislative and administrative machinery of government and regulate the regulators in the interest of the companies.

"Besides the political dangers incident to attempts at controlling these powerful monopolies, regulation is wasteful and only partially effective. You have one set of men to do the work and another set of men watching the first and trying to make them manage the roads in accord with your orders and contrary to the orders and financial interests of the men who employ and dismiss them and pay their salaries."

The last half of the work is quite as important as Part One, and in some respects even more so; for the evils of the railway system in America are coming to be generally recognized by intelligent people, while, owing very largely

to the pernicious activity of the army of editors, writers and others beholden to public-service corporations, the public has been systematically misled, often in the most shameful manner, in regard to the probable effectiveness of all common-sense and rational remedies proposed which are fundamental in character; and no opportunity has been lost in attempting to confuse the general reader in regard to facts that would long ago have been accepted and acted on, as they have been accepted and put into practice in lands wherever privileged interests have not gained a dominating control over both the press and the government officials.

Part Two contains ten chapters, which appear under the following titles: "The Problem," "The Supreme Test," "Lessons from Other Lands," "The Aim," "Contrasts in General Policy," "Management," "The Rate Question," "Railway Employés," "Industrial, Political and Social Effects," and "Remedies."

We had hoped to be able to give some of the salient facts which crowd this section of the work, but our review has already exceeded our limit and we can only state that in our judgment no honest-minded man can peruse this masterly work without realizing not only the extreme gravity of the evil, the overshadowing character of the problem and the imperative demand that it be promptly and fearlessly faced, but also that along the highway of popular ownership and operation alone is found the solution to the problem; the solution that will so change the order that the railways will be made to serve the interests of all the people instead of conserving the selfish aims of a ring of Wall-street gamblers and anarchistic law-breakers who have corrupted and are corrupting the government in all its ramifications and the business ethics of the nation, while lowering the moral ideals of the rising generation; a solution that has been vindicated wherever put into operation, proving even far more successful than its friends had predicted, and which has never been attended by any of the dire evils that the corrupt railway magnates and their henchmen predict would follow if our people took over the ownership and operation of the railways.

VII. A WORD ABOUT THE PUBLISHER OF THIS WORK.

We cannot close this review without saying a few words about the publisher of the work, Dr. C. F. Taylor, for we are not of those who

believe that the high-minded, unselfish apostles and servants of liberty, just government and civic righteousness should go unrecognized until the clouds fall on their coffin-lids. And in America to-day, among the chosen few who thoughtless of self and with brain and soul consecrated to the cause of pure, just and free government are striving tirelessly for the cause of human advancement, Dr. Taylor deserves a foremost place.

Years ago he commenced a systematic educational propaganda in his journal, *The Medical World*. Later he and Professor Parsons, in discussing various ways and means for furthering popular education of the people on political and economic issues, conceived the idea of publishing *The Equity Series*. To this work Dr. Taylor has contributed his money without stint, seeking not to gain wealth, but to educate the people to think fundamentally and to awaken the masses to the peril of advancing plutocracy, while showing the way out of the social quagmire. Among the important works that have already appeared in this series are the following:

Rational Money, The City for the People, The Telegraph Monopoly, The Story of New Zealand, Direct Legislation, and The Railways, the Trusts and the People, all by Professor Parsons; *Elements of Taxation*, by N. M. Taylor; *The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations*, by F. E. Horack; *The Land Question from Various Points of View*, by various writers; and *Politics in New Zealand*, a pamphlet containing the most important of the political portions of *The Story of New Zealand*, edited by Dr. Taylor.

The influence of several of these works on leading statesmen, economists and thinkers has been very pronounced, while the effect of many of them on the more progressive and thoughtful in the rank and file of our citizens has been equally marked. It is just such self-sacrificing and patriotic labors for the great cause of true democracy as Dr. Taylor is carrying forward that will turn the scales for freedom and justice in the crucial hour to which the nation is hurrying. His work is marked by that fine spirit of lofty altruism and love of justice that led Morris and other of the Revolutionary patriots to stake all earthly possessions for the salvation of the people's cause. Among our apostles and leaders of progressive democracy we know of no two men more single-hearted or more dominated by the spirit of justice and civic righteousness than Professor Parsons and Dr. Taylor.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Man the Social Creator. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Cloth. Pp. 280. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

TO KNOW Henry Demarest Lloyd was to love him, to see with some of the glory of his vision, to partly feel with the incisive keenness of his insight, to move upward with the pulsing power of his aspirations, to be inspired by some of the splendor of his passion for man, for his brotherhood, for the social organism. Actually giving his life at the call for a speech for social justice, he has passed from us and we can never again here meet that gentle yet valiant and knightly spirit. But he, being dead, yet speaketh and liveth, and his spirit can and will inspire others perhaps unborn.

Of the half dozen books that he wrote, the posthumous one, *Man the Social Creator*, recently published by Doubleday, Page & Company, is the fullest and finest revelation of his rare spirit. We may mourn that his book entitled *The Swiss Sovereign* and dealing more particularly with the development of the Initiative and Referendum in that model republic, was so much in his brain as to be now lost to us, but we must rejoice that Jane Addams of Hull House and Mrs. Anne Withington, his sister, could from notes, addresses, letters, etc., prepare this book which is really Mr. Lloyd's philosophy of living, his final message to his time.

It is a book of optimism. Friends coming close to Mr. Lloyd know that the misery and waste of our time and system often bore so cruelly on his tender spirit as to make him seem a pessimist, almost a violent revolutionist, but in this book, the real nature of the man with the broad sweep of his vision and his abiding faith asserts itself in an optimistic, a creative work. This begins in its opening where he says:

"Man is a creator, and in his province is the creator and redeemer of himself and

society. . . . Man is not to be a loving animal but is one. From the simple hearthstone up to the magnificent Capitol, man has always organized his love. This he is about to do now in the new territories of contact opened by the industrial revolution."

And it only ends in this last sentence which is:

"The sore consciousness of our world of to-day, of its evils and greed, is the sure sign that we are travelling into a new conscience, and through it into a new and finally unconscious happiness of brotherliness in labor. No man can be truly religious who believes in the God of yesterday or rests in the God of to-day. There is no salvation save in the God of to-morrow."

The fundamental ideal of this book is, to use his own words, that "the modern wealth production which is bringing all men into propinquity, has for its sure end making all these men lovers." And from this contact and the love generated by it is to come a new organism, or rather a consciousness of the organism which is already here, a consciousness that we are members one of another; that we belong to a social whole which is larger and finer and greater than any of its units and to which we owe all loyalty and service. And out of the consciousness of social unity will grow the social conscience, for as he puts it: "The sudden and vast expansion of modern business has made the coöperative commonwealth a physical fact. Now comes the next expansion—that which makes the coöperative commonwealth a moral fact."

The very titles of the eleven chapters show the development of his thought. They are as follows: "The Discovery of Social Love," "Social Progress always Religious," "Mere Contact Making for Spiritual Union," "Social Love Creating New Forms of Social Life," "The New Conscience," "New Conscience in Industry," "New Conscience Transforming Politics—Killing the Party Spirit," "The New Conscience Manifesting Itself in Educational Methods and Aims," "A New Political

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Economy Predicting a New Wealth," "The Church of the Deed," and "The Religion of Labor."

As a whole the book is a germinal, thought-provoking book. It is deeply religious and ethically lofty. It is written in Mr. Lloyd's luminous, eloquent style, with many flashing epigrams and keen strokes of wit. Occasionally the thread of the thought is not quite as smooth as if Mr. Lloyd had lived to finish it, but the work of the editors is exceedingly well done. Probably no two people in more complete sympathy with Mr. Lloyd's thought and work could be found than his sister and Miss Addams. Altogether it is a book which everyone interested in the development of our country should not only read but own, study and mark.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

American Character. By Brander Matthews. Pp. 40. Cloth. Price, 75 cents net. Flexible leather, boxed, price, \$1.50 net. Postage, 8 cents. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company.

THIS is an extremely important and timely contribution to the virile literature of the day. A French critic in interviewing Count Tolstoi made a severe arraignment of the American people—an arraignment which Count Tolstoi did not admit to be just, but it did not surprise the great Russian. Professor Matthews' reply to this arraignment was primarily prepared and delivered before the alumnae of Columbia University and is marked by the care that one would naturally expect in a discussion intended to be delivered before the very thoughtful. In this respect it is in pleasant contrast with the many hastily written essays that flood the present-day press.

One may not agree with Professor Matthews at all times; but for the most part the views expressed are not only well-considered but we think they are sound. We are glad to note that the author frankly admits many of the evils that form the basis of the Frenchman's too sweeping generalizations and that his views on them are such as to make for a nobler manhood. We do not entertain quite such optimistic views as does Professor Matthews as to the early social ostracizing of all the Captain Kidds of modern finance who have acquired their fortunes largely by injustice and indirection; yet we do believe that a moral renaissance is slowly dawning and that there is suffi-

cient moral virility in the American people to enable them to overcome the giant-like power of the criminal rich and restore the Republic to its old moorings by bringing the people to a recognition of the importance of the old ideals that were the impregnable tower of strength and the glory of the Republic when the United States was the moral leader of the world.

The District Attorney. By William Sage. Cloth. Pp. 296. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

NOT SINCE Robert Herrick's *The Common Lot* has there appeared a finer study of present-day American life than *The District Attorney*. Mr. Sage has written a strong, virile romance, compelling in its hold over the imagination and giving a startlingly realistic picture of existing political and commercial conditions in our great metropolis.

The hero, a splendid type of the new American manhood that is coming more and more to the front in our political life, is the son of the head of a powerful trust. His father has given him a fine legal education in order that he may aid him in building up his business to even huger proportions and that he may be fitted to assume the leadership when the father's period of active labor shall be ended. Richard Haverland enters enthusiastically into his father's proposition that he shall begin his work at once, but his first glimpse of the methods by which his father's great wealth has been acquired fills him with aversion and he tells him that he can have no part in the merciless crushing of all competitors which is the fixed policy of the great combination. His father argues with him, but to no avail. They separate, although the young man still visits his home occasionally. He takes up the practice of law and marries the daughter of the man who has longest held out against the power of the great trust of which Samuel Haverland is the head. It is up-hill work at first, but gradually he begins to attract attention. Finally he is nominated by the Independents for District-Attorney and is elected. He proves to be a man who takes his high office seriously. Reports of bribery and corruption come to his ears. He acts promptly, beginning with the small offenders and following the trail until at last it leads to his father's closet business associate, a man who has just been elected to the United States Senate. He prosecutes and convicts him. His father's health is beginning

to fail and he sends once more for his son, making a final appeal to him to give up the work to which the people have called him. This he steadfastly refuses to do, and one of the most dramatic chapters in the book is that which describes the final struggle between the old captain of industry and the young champion of the people's rights.

The character of Samuel Haverland is exceptionally well drawn, although all the characters in the story are real and convincing.

AMY C. RICH.

The Undying Past. By Hermann Sudermann. Translated by Beatrice Marshall. Cloth. Pp. 382. Price, \$1.50. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS is a gloomy but powerful psychologic study which also gives a fine realistic picture of life on the great landed estates of Prussia.

Three characters stand out in bold relief; Leo Sollenthin, the hero; Ulrich Kletzingk, his friend; and Felicitas, the wife of the latter and the former mistress of Leo.

Leo, years before the opening of the story, had killed in a duel Felicitas' first husband, ostensibly over a game of cards, but really because his attentions to Felicitas had become known to the husband. Sollenthin then left the country for several years, and at the opening of the story has returned to find that his dearest friend, Ulrich Kletzingk, an idealist and dreamer with fine and exalted ideas of honor, has wedded Felicitas, knowing nothing of the real cause of the duel between her former husband and Leo and believing her to be the embodiment of purity and virtue. Felicitas is at heart a courtesan. Not content with the devotion of her husband, she tries again to throw the old wiles around Leo, and succeeds in a measure. The ghost of by-gone days stands as a haunting presence between Leo and Ulrich; the "undying past" ever throws its shadow over the present.

A novel dealing with the events which grow out of such conditions cannot be other than unpleasant throughout; although the gloom of the story is somewhat relieved by the sweet and simple character of Hertha and her unselfish devotion to Leo. At the very end of the romance a tiny ray of light is allowed to break through the darkness and we see a prospect—faint, it is true—that Leo may at length be able to lay the ghost of his former deeds and become once more a normal, healthy-minded man such

as nature intended him to be, worthy of the friendship of the poet and idealist, Ulrich.

AMY C. RICH.

Blindfolded. By Earle Ashley Walcott. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a mystery-romance displaying considerable ability on the part of the author in construction, plot and counterplot. It is fairly well written and is, we think, the best story of the kind that has appeared in recent months, though for readers who demand the element of probability in fiction it, like most of the present ent-day mystery tales or detective romances, will hold little interest, for the demands on the credulity of the reader are almost as great as those made by *The Arabian Nights*. *Blindfolded* is an ambitious attempt to do for twentieth-century metropolitan life what the most daring romantic novelists have essayed in dealing with less familiar and more remote feudal periods. Often the reader will be strongly reminded of the D'Artagnan romances of the elder Dumas; not that there is here the wealth of imagination or the painstaking regard for historical details and verities, or the fine descriptions that have given more than ephemeral popularity to *The Three Musketeers* and their companion stories, for here we have the nervous haste and scorn of detail and absence of wealth of description that are peculiar to our present-day novels and mystery and detective tales, and there is also lacking the power of imagination that gives peculiar fascination to the Dumas romances; but in other respects the many points of analogy are striking. In the place of D'Artagnan in the loyal service of the Queen of France, we have the hero, unceremoniously, through the murder of his friend, made the knight of the brilliant and immensely rich wife of Doddridge Knapp, the king of the Street in San Francisco. Mrs. Knapp is also the mother of the beautiful Luella, the heroine of the tale. In the place of the companions of D'Artagnan, we have his faithful guard of mercenaries surrounding him day and night, who, however, do not prevent the mercenaries of the powerful double of Doddridge Knapp from working great mischief and occasioning no end of exciting and often tragic episodes, in which there are enough hairbreadth escapes to satisfy the most exacting novel reader. The plot revolves around a mysterious child, for the possession of which the disowned brother of Doddridge Knapp,

who passes under the name of Lane, is battling against Mrs. Knapp. The love romance that runs through the tale is subordinated to the master-theme, but is sufficiently prominent to lighten the story and give to it additional interest.

The Challenge. By Warren Cheney. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 386. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a well-written, spirited love-romance somewhat conventional in construction, but concerned with scenes and life but little exploited by novelists, thus presenting a freshness and interest that relieve it of the monotony which characterizes so many melodramatic romances.

The scenes of the story are laid in a fur-gathering post in Alaska during the Russian occupation. The commandant of the post, his aide, the hero of the story, the blood-signed brother of the hero, the heroine and two other women, a malevolent priest whose sinister figure darkens most of the tale, and the evil-minded father of the heroine who seconds the priest in much of his mischief-making, are the central characters of this romance which abounds in spirited and frequently highly exciting episodes. Often, as is wont in this class of novels, the outlook seems very dark for the hero and the maiden of his thought, but in the end the clouds roll back, the sun shines, and all is well. There are some very strong situations and finely-drawn scenes in the work, which on the whole is far above the ordinary present-day story of this character. It is a novel that will please lovers of romantic melodramatic fiction.

Stories from Dickens. By J. Walker McSpadden. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 376. Price, 60 cents.

Stories from Scottish History. By M. L. Edgar. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 340. Price, 60 cents.

Tales from Herodotus. By H. A. Havell. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 290. Price, 60 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

IT WOULD be difficult to speak too highly of these works for the young. They are all precisely the kind of books that all normal children enjoy. They are nothing if not interesting,

and no boy or girl with any taste for reading, who once commences one of them, will abandon it until the contents of every page have been enjoyed. But they have far more than this to commend them. They are literature such as is seldom enjoyed by the young of the present day when hastily-written stories are considered good enough for children; while they will serve to whet the child's appetite not only for the best in romance, but also for historical knowledge. Thus they will become as it were the floral-decked ante-room to the stately temples of literature and history.

The *Stories from Dickens* take up the life-tales of children in Dickens' great books, telling them as nearly as possible in the great master's own language. They are stories of the most famous of Dickens' boys and girls, taken out of the great panoramic sketches of life as he saw and painted them. In this work we have "The Story of Oliver Twist," "The Story of Smike and His Teacher," "The Story of Little Nell," "The Story of Paul and Florence Dombey," "The Story of Pip as Told by Himself," "The Story of Little Dorrit," and "The Personal History of David Copperfield."

The *Stories from Scottish History* are not a whit less interesting, and for many children they will hold even greater fascination than those from Dickens, for these are taken from the wonderful historical stories by Sir Walter Scott which he wrote for his grandson. They throw the same fascinating spell over the child's imagination that the great masterpieces of Scott have so long thrown over the minds of adult readers. They deal with only three centuries of Scottish history from the days of the famous struggle for Scottish independence under Bruce and Wallace, to the union of the crowns. These stories will do very much toward stimulating the child's interest in the history of Great Britain while conveying a vast amount of important historical matter relating to some of the most stirring days in the history of Scotland. It is well, however, for the reader to bear in mind the fact that Sir Walter Scott was a Tory and his historical tales are sometimes strongly tinged with the deep reactionary prejudices he entertained.

The *Tales from Herodotus* are equally interesting and valuable. It is difficult to imagine the child who could fail to feel the enthralling spell in these marvelous tales told by the father of history, who was a natural story-teller, possessing something of the child-mind with a child's faith that we are constrained at times to

call credulity. The historian's tales in this book deal very largely with the Greek struggle for liberty, and they will prove as helpful and stimulating as they will fascinating to the children fortunate enough to enjoy their reading.

Common American and European Insects and Common Butterflies and Moths, two manuals prepared by William Beutenmüller, Curator of the Department of Entomology, American Museum of Natural History, New York. 16mo., pocket size, muslin. Each, 25 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

IN THESE two admirable manuals are represented in natural colors the common butterflies, moths, beetles, bugs, etc., of America and Europe. The names, both scientific and common, are given. These works have been prepared under the supervision of William Beutenmüller, Curator of the Department of Entomology, American Museum of Natural History, New York. The manuals are valuable handbooks for all persons who would add to their knowledge of insect life when on vacations or travels in the country. They are small and can easily be slipped into the side pocket; and as the butterflies and other insects are reproduced in their natural colors it will be easy to quickly and accurately identify them by their scientific and common names. Such books are of great value in broadening the culture of people who are ever ready to acquire knowledge.

The Essentials of United States History. By William A. Mowry and Blanche S. Mowry. With maps and illustrations. Cloth. Pp. 434. Price, 90 cents. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company.

THIS IS without exception the best brief history of our country for young readers that we have seen. As its author indicates, it is concerned with the essentials of history, but, what is rare in such a work, the essentials are presented in so clear and interesting a manner as to appeal to the imagination of the child and hold his interest in a compelling way. Moreover, the work is instinct with what should be a dominant note in twentieth-century civilization—the spirit of peace and brotherhood. Here we have set down the great triumphs of

peace, which are too frequently ignored by writers in order that they may devote undue attention to war and military exploits.

"The class-room," as our author well observes in his preface, "should be free from the spirit of militarism, and the pupils should see clearly that glory is not confined to the battlefield, nor patriotism to the career of the soldier. Attention should be given especially to the growing tendency among the nations to avoid wars and to settle all international difficulties by arbitration. Nowhere better than in the history lesson can we cultivate the spirit of philanthropy and good-will for the whole human race."

With this work in hand, any parent or teacher who takes real interest in the child's education can make the history of our country as fascinating as romance. We take pleasure in strongly recommending this book to all readers who have in their charge the care and guidance of the young.

The Unwritten Law. A novel. By Arthur Henry. Cloth. Pp. 401. Price, \$1.50. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company.

THIS IS one of the best specimens of the realistic novel, which we have seen, dealing with American life. The author has taken a section from present-day metropolitan life, as it were, and with the accuracy of the camera has revealed conditions as they actually exist in the various stages of life. More than this, he has brought into his work the artist element of imagination, which in pictorial work marks the distinction between a photograph and a great painting.

The story deals with the life of typical Americans, and especially that of certain children, following them step by step, through sunshine and gloom, through victory and defeat, through success and failure, through honor and shame, and in so doing it gives a wonderfully vivid, if somewhat somber and at times tragic, picture of present-day life in the great American cities. It is a truer reproduction of contemporaneous cosmopolitan existence than are most historical essays that claim to represent things as they are, and being instinct with the higher realism—that subtle convincing something which makes the creations of a man of genius palpitate with life—the work holds the interest of the reader from cover to cover.

The Tin Diskers. By Lloyd Osbourne. Illustrated. Boards. Pp. 128. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is a bright, breezy love story written with no other object than to entertain. It is artificial, but very ingenious; and, though not wanting in the elements of improbability, it is perhaps probable enough to satisfy the general reader who wishes a fascinating story which will enable him to delightfully while away a couple of hours, or who is in search of some diverting tale to rest the tired brain.

In the story the heroine, a daughter of an American trust magnate, goes into a seeming decline after the death of her mother. Her father, acting on the physician's orders, sends her to Europe. She is accompanied by an eccentric and miserly aunt as a chaperon. In London the trouble begins when the aunt reads the offer, in a newspaper, of one thousand pounds to any one who can find a tin disk hidden in the ground in a certain part of the city. The aunt immediately becomes a disk-searcher or "diskier," as the hunters are termed. The search is to be carried on between midnight and morning and the police are arresting the diskers whenever they find them trespassing on private land. Very exciting episodes occur, the culmination being reached when a private park is invaded by the diskers and the heroine is caught by the son of Sir George Morse-Galkyn who proposes to send her to the police court in the morning. He relents, however, and the love romance begins.

The Tin Diskers is one of Mr. Osbourne's best short stories, and this will be sufficient guarantee to satisfy his host of admirers that the tale is well worth the reading.

The Watermead Affair. By Robert Barr. Boards. Pp. 127. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS excellent short story by Robert Barr is, ethically considered, far more valuable than Lloyd Osbourne's *The Tin Diskers*, for it incidentally impresses many important truths and it illustrates the rising of a naturally fine nature, drugged and deadened by wealth and a soul-destroying environment, into the estate of responsible manhood, under the stress of poverty.

The story deals with a young nobleman who has been prodigal with his wealth, giving

and loaning lavishly while indulging his tastes and vanities without stint. He has a passion for automobiles. No chauffeur in England can better manage a complex machine than John Trumble, Seventh Earl of Watermead, who, when he finds himself thrown into bankruptcy for a time, promptly accepts a humble position as chauffeur for an old philanthropic physician. This brings him into social contact with a certain beautiful but very proud young woman, the daughter of a venerable clergyman. A love romance and a happy ending comprise the larger part of the volume and are most charmingly set forth. It is an excellent story for those in search of a bright, brief and pleasing little romance.

The Cynic's Rules of Conduct. By Chester Field, Jr. Boards. Pp. 97. Price, 50 cents.

The Cynic's Dictionary. By Harry Thompson. Boards. Pp. 95. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THESE two little books are extremely bright and will delight the very large number of people who enjoy clever, keen, humorous and satirical epigrammatic utterances. There have recently appeared many volumes of this character. Some have been thoroughly witty, but many have lacked the saving salt of genuine humor and originality, so they are therefore not worth the reading. These books are, however, among the very best of this class of publications, scintillating from cover to cover with mirth-provoking utterances. That the reader may gain some idea of the works, we give the following extracts from *The Cynic's Rules of Conduct*:

"Remember that your wife's wardrobe is the Bradstreet in which women look for your rating."

"It is not good form for a young girl to go to the theater with a gentleman, unaccompanied by a chaperon. On the other hand, it is not good fun for her to go to the theater with a chaperon, unaccompanied by a gentleman."

"When you step on a lady's toes make some offhand remark about her feet being too small to be seen. This is older than the cave-dwellers; but it still works."

"Do n't forget to tell her that she's 'not like other girls.' It always works, whether you spring it on the belle of the village, the girl with a hare lip or the bearded lady at the circus."

"It is a mistake to regard your linen as the leopard does his spots."

"If a man's worth doing at all, he's worth doing well."

The following extracts are from *The Cynic's Dictionary*:

"*Conservatism* is radicalism in its dotage."

"*Alimony*—The grass widow's pension."

"*Amateur Farming*—A form of extravagance practiced by men who do not wish to die rich."

"*Banquet*—A fifty cent dinner that you pay five dollars for."

"*Caution*—The brake that stops a career from running up-hill to success."

"*Confession*—Owning up when you are sure to be caught."

"*Curiosity*—Paying a thousand dollars to see your appendix."

"*Civil Service*—Something you tip a waiter for and do n't get."

"*Cozy Corner*—Any corner that does n't contain a chaperon."

"*Engagement Ring*—Matrimony's promissory note."

"*Furious*—A word expressing the pleasure a girl experiences when she is kissed."

"*Gossip*—The counterfeit coin of conversation."

"*Rouge*—Face suicide."

"*Ridicule*—The pin that pricks the bubble of egotism."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CIVILIZATION-BUILDERS AT WORK: In this issue of *THE ARENA* we publish the opening paper in a series of very important contributions that will add greatly to the interest and value of this review during the coming year, dealing with representative builders of a nobler civilization and the practical work they are achieving. Two things are all-important at the present time: one is the fearless unmasking of the civilization-destroying influences; the other, the proper emphasizing of the civilization-building work that is being carried forward and descriptions of means and methods for meeting and overcoming the present evils. In the carrying forward of both these works *THE ARENA* will strive to lead. There are at the present time many great workers and fundamental thinkers who are laying broadly and firmly the foundation for a better civilization. One of these practical way-showers is N. O. NELSON, whose work is so luminously and fascinatingly described by Mr. EADS. The fine illustrations that accompany the paper also illustrate an important and attractive feature which will mark *THE ARENA* for the ensuing year. Fine illustrations, when they are demanded to properly illustrate an article, will be employed.

that belong to this group and which we hope to present in early issues will be papers by Hon. EDWARD TREGGEAR, Secretary for Labor for New Zealand, and Hon. J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P., the most eminent of English postal experts.

Richard Seddon: Speaking of Mr. TREGGEAR reminds us of the study which we present in this issue of New Zealand's great Prime-Minister whose untimely death last June has taken from the ranks of progressive democracy one of the ablest and most efficient statesmen of modern times. We have given a somewhat extended notice of this master-builder of a liberal commonwealth, because his life is an inspiration to the young; because his work affords a striking illustration of what a courageous, incorruptible and truly democratic statesman can achieve for the good of all the people; and finally because it is our conviction that in biographical sketches of the great leaders and way-showers of democracy, especially when they give their ideals of government, is found one of the most valuable aids to the cause of popular rule.

Studies of Social Conditions in Foreign Lands: In MAYNARD BUTLER's very thoughtful paper presented in this issue under the title of *Concerning Those Who Work*, *THE ARENA* gives the first of a series of highly important authoritative studies of social and political conditions in foreign lands. Our Berlin correspondent will continue a series of contributions dealing with conditions and movements, fundamental and vital in character, in the German empire. Among other important contributions

Polygamy and the Constitution: THEODORE SCHROEDER, one of the strongest and most aggressive progressive thinkers of the day, contributes a very timely and important paper on *Polygamy and the Constitution* to this issue of *THE ARENA*. Mr. SCHROEDER went to Utah prejudiced rather in favor of than against the Mormons, believing that they were being persecuted for their religious belief and that the charges against them were grossly exaggerated. After a residence of some time in Utah

and a very careful study of the whole situation, however, his views underwent an entire change. His long residence among them and his exhaustive study of the literature of the Mormons no less than of conditions as he found them render his paper of special value.

The Consumption of Wealth: We have received many letters asking for a clear, simple exposition of the ideals of Socialism,—a paper at once reliable in character and yet so plain as to be intelligible to "the man on the street" who has little time for abstract discussions or fine-spun theorizing. Such persons will, we think, find Mr. HITCHCOCK's contribution entitled *Consumption of Wealth: Individual and Collective*, a timely and helpful paper. The author is an able and well-known Socialist of Massachusetts.

The Miraculous Conception and the Zeit-Geist: In this issue we present a somewhat lengthy and exhaustive reply to the thoughts presented in such papers as Mrs. TRASK's *The Virgin Birth* and the article entitled *Heresy in the Episcopal Church*, which appeared in the October number. Dr. BUSHBY is a ripe scholar and presents the old-time orthodox views, we think, as ably as it is possible for them to be given. Owing to the fact that the orthodox papers are all open to such contributions as Dr. BUSHBY's we do not feel it so important to give such views as we do the newer visions of our wonderful age, vibrant with what it seems to us is a loftier and truer faith, because the new message is denied a hearing in the church papers; yet for the sake of giving our readers the ablest possible reply to the new scholarship we present Dr. BUSHBY's scholarly contribution.

Unrecognized Insanity: We wish to call the special attention of our readers to the important paper on *Unrecognized Insanity*, by Dr. PETERSEN. The author is one of the leading physicians of New England, a man who for years in America and Europe has made a special study of nervous and mental phenomena, especially in abnormal states. He is one of the most authoritative authors in the New World on hypnotism as a therapeutic agent.

Shall Educated Chinamen Be Welcomed to Our Shores? In Mrs. GOUGAR's contribution our readers will find a thought-stimulating argument against the admission of the educated Chinaman which merits careful consideration, owing to the author's travels in China, the Philippines and other Oriental lands, where she has made a special study of Chinese life. This gives special value to her views, though personally we confess they are not altogether convincing to us.

The Railways, The Trusts and The People: We hope every reader of THE ARENA will carefully peruse the extracts given in our book-study of Professor PARSON'S great railway work which appears in this issue. There are some startling facts given in these quotations that all thinking Americans should be cognizant of, especially at the present time when the struggle between the railways and the people is being carried forward in the battle at the polls.

Direct-Legislation in Maine: THE ARENA proposes to keep its readers fully posted in regard to every progressive step taken in the great campaign for wresting the government from the boss and the privileged interests and restoring it to the people by securing Direct-Legislation. This month our special correspondent from Maine, Mr. ABNER W. NICHOLS, who is the leading Direct-Legislation worker in the Pine-Tree State, presents an excellent account of the favorable outlook for the cause in Maine.

Our Story: In pursuance with our plan to publish each month some good short story that will interest all members of the family and lighten somewhat the pages of the magazine, we this month present a unique original story entitled *The Woman With the Knitting*. It is a tale very strong in human interest and highly suggestive in its illustration of how honest legislators are frequently made the dupes of the criminal interests which seek personal or special legislation.

